+ ZP 1637 982 0021

RECEIVED
SEP 29 1987
PERIODICALS DEPT
Irvine Sullivan Ingram Library
CARROLLTON, GEORGIA

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2011 with funding from
LYRASIS Members and Sloan Foundation

http://www.archive.org/details/westgeorgiacolle2124unse

v. 21

WEST GEORGIA COLLEGE
STUDIES IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Volume XXI June, 1982

RECEIVED
1982
PERIODICALS DEPT.
Irvine Sullivan Ingram Library
CARROLLTON, GEORGIA

SUPPLY-SIDE ECONOMICS: PRO AND CON

Published by
WEST GEORGIA COLLEGE
A Division of the University System of Georgia
CARROLLTON, GEORGIA

WEST GEORGIA COLLEGE

STUDIES IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Volume XXI **June, 1982**

SUPPLY-SIDE ECONOMICS: PRO AND CON

G. Thomas Sav and Paul E. Masters, Jr.
Volume Co-Editors

CONTENTS

		Page
Contributors		iii
Foreword	*Robert H. Claxton*	v
Preface	*G. Thomas Sav and Paul E. Masters, Jr.*	vii
Supply-Side Economics Conference in Atlanta	*Donald E. Bedwell and Gary W. Tapp*	1
The Theoretical Basis and Historical Origins of Supply Side Economics	*Robert E. Keleher*	15
Supply-Side Economics: Political Claims Vs. Economic Reality	*James R. Barth and Joseph J. Cordes*	27
Supply-Side Economics and the Economic Recovery Act of 1981	*George R. Iden*	39
Reaganomics: Macro-Perspectives and Micro-Effects	*Donald T. Wells*	53
A New Framework for America: The Conservative Opportunity State	*Newt Gingrich and Mark Florio*	73
Cumulative Index to *Studies in the Social Sciences*		80

TITLES IN PRINT

Vol. VIII, 1969, *Some Aspects of Black Culture.*

Vol. XI, 1972, *Georgia Diplomats and Nineteenth Century Trade Expansion.*

Vol. XIII, 1974, *American Diplomatic History: Issues and Methods.*

Price, each title, $2.00

Vol. XIV, 1975, *Political Morality, Responsiveness, and Reform in America.*

Vol. XV, 1976, *The American Revolution: The Home Front.*

Vol. XVI, 1977, *Essays on the Human Geography of the Southeastern United States.*

Vol. XVIII, 1979, *The Southeastern United States: Essays on the Cultural and Historical Landscape*

Price, each title, $3.00

Vol. XIX, 1980, *Sapelo Papers: Researches in the History and Prehistory of Sapelo Island, Georgia*

Vol. XX, 1981, *Games Without Frontiers: Essays for a Protean Sociology*

Price, $4.00

Copyright © 1982, West Georgia College

Printed in U.S.A.

Thomasson Printing Co., Carrollton, Georgia 30117

Price, $4.00

($1.00 discount with standing orders or orders of ten or more to one address.)

CONTRIBUTORS

JAMES R. BARTH is Professor of Economics at George Washington University. He is a specialist in monetary theory and regulatory economics. Dr. Barth has served as a consultant to the Congressional Budget Office, the National Bureau of Standards, and Federal Trade Commission. In addition, he was associate director of the National Science Foundation economics program, 1980-1981. In the past ten years, he has authored over eighty articles, professional papers, and research papers.

DONALD E. BEDWELL is an Assistant Vice President and Communications Officer of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta. Educated at the University of Missouri, Mr. Bedwell had twenty years of journalism experience with the Miami *Herald* and Charlotte *Observer* and as a free lance business and travel writer before assuming his present position.

JOSEPH J. CORDES has a doctorate in economics from the University of Wisconsin/Madison. He is a member of the George Washington University faculty, specializing in public finance. Professor Cordes is the author of numerous articles and *The Impact of Taxation and Financial Regulatory Policy on Innovation* (1980), having served as a tax analyst for the United States Treasury Department.

MARK FLORIO is a member of Congressman Newt Gingrich's Washington staff. He received his bachelor's degree from the Southern Illinois University at Carbondale.

NEWT GINGRICH is the United States Congressman from the Sixth District of Georgia. Elected in 1978, Mr. Gingrich serves on the Public Works Committee and the House Administration Committee. Prior to his election, he was a professor of History and Environmental Studies at West Georgia College for seven years. He received the Ph.D. degree at Tulane University.

GEORGE R. IDEN is currently chief of the Special Studies Unit in the Fiscal Analysis Division of the Congressional Budget Office. Holder of a Harvard doctorate in economics, his research activities concentrate on fiscal policy, labor, and agricultural economics. Previous to his work with CBO, Dr. Iden taught at the American University and the University of North Carolina. He has also been an economist with the Labor and Commerce Departments. He is also the author of several studies on unemployment.

ROBERT E. KELEHER is a Research Officer and Senior Economist at the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, where he heads the national-international team. His interests are mainly in the domestic and international areas of monetary policy and supply-side economics. Keleher holds a B.S. and an M.A. from the University of Illinois and Northern Illinois University, respectively. His Ph.D. is from Indiana University. Besides publishing in the *Economic Review* of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, he has co-authored a recent book and contributed essays to several other books and journals.

GARY W. TAPP received his Ph.D. in literature from Emory University. After teaching English at Georgia State University for three years, he joined the staff of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta where he is now editor of the *Economic Review.*

DONALD T. WELLS is Chairman of the Political Science Department at West Georgia College and Editor-in-Chief of the *Southeastern Political Review.* He has authored various articles analyzing the Arkansas legislature, the social responsibilities of public utilities, and the disposal of hazardous waste. His research interests center on organizational theory and public budgeting.

FOREWORD

During the 1970's, several economic problems plagued every administration. Some were more manageable than others, but all persisted.

Americans depended too heavily on one source of energy: petroleum. In addition, American industry relied more and more on imported minerals. Third World governments formed cartels (selling agreements) to keep prices high, notably for petroleum. This fact contributed to the first United States trade deficits in the twentieth century.

Many people felt powerless. In 1979, 11.6% of the total population fell below the poverty level and that percentage had been fairly constant throughout the decade. More and more middle income Americans felt overtaxed. On the other hand, the number of executives sitting on the boards of corporations other than their own increased, concentrating economic decision-making. Transnational corporations, based in the United States, increased their power, too, being able to transfer capital from country to country with ease, or break up communities by transferring workers.

The average annual growth of productivity declined in the '70's. The research and development portion of the gross national product decreased in America while it rose in other industrialized nations. Love Canal, DC-10's, and Three Mile Island all raised doubts about technology.

Environmental conditions appeared to signal limits to growth. Record severity of winters and particularly dry summers made climatic conditions seem more variable. World population reached four billion in the mid '70's while scientists cited dangerous strains upon the ability of nature to support that many people. In the United States, however, because of the lower birth rate after 1956, there were relatively more retired people for working people to support as the decade wore on.

Unlike the workers in the rest of the industralized world, American workers saved little or none of their disposable incomes. To the contrary, the average American adult used at least four credit cards. A private debt in the trillions dwarfed a public debt in the billions. A subterranean economy of illegal aliens, contraband drug sales, crime, and fraud in some government programs meant that mainstream indicators could not reflect the true state of the economy.

What indicators did reveal was the curious phenomenon of "stagflation." In 1974, the nation experienced the first peacetime double digit inflation since 1947. At the same time, the greatest unemployment in forty years also occurred.

An extremely difficult issue like "stagflation" is present when a realigning presidential election takes place. Such elections came in 1828, 1896, and 1932. One was due, if average lengths between these meant anything, in 1968. By 1980, most of the other factors in earlier realignments

were also present.

After 1932, the Democratic party gained the public policy initiative and Republicans played me-too-ism. But, by 1980, the worldview of the 1930's was no longer adequate. Ironically, the "new left" criticism of liberalism in the 1960's and early '70s bolstered "old right" positions. National political figures were dull and uninspiring, producing low turn outs on election days in the decade. New power contenders were entering the political arena like sunbelt conservatives and the religious right. Technological innovations, especially in the field of communications, generally precede realignments and make new campaigning techniques possible. By 1980, computerized fund solicitations were common, being re-enforced by election laws which encouraged single issue pressure groups. By definition, a realignment follows the break-up of an old coalition. The 1980 election showed that Democrats could no longer count on the "Solid South," blacks, northern ethnics, and organized labor. Increasing numbers of people identified as Republicans or as independents in public opinion polls.

A realigning election brings the President's party to power in Congress. Although Republicans gained a surprising majority in the Senate in 1980, they depended upon an informal alliance with "Boll Weevils" to pass bills in the House. Finally, an expansion of the national economy follows a realigning election after the new administration adopts new guiding ideas.

The congressional election of 1982 will confirm or reject this suggested realignment. If the guiding "supply-side" economic ideas of the Reagan administration appear to be working in November, voters could make the Republican party the majority party for a generation. Reaganomics will work to the extent that it realistically addresses the economic situation noted above.

In this first issue of the West Georgia College *Studies in the Social Sciences* devoted to economics, contributors explain and explore the basic frame of reference for key Reagan advisors. The authors' supportive and critical comments will, it is hoped, encourage further public debate on the direction our nation should take.

Robert H. Claxton
General Editor

PREFACE

Recently, economic policy has taken a course which is distinctly different from the policies implemented over the past several decades. President Reagan's Economic Recovery Plan, which is designed to implement the principles of supply-side economics, differs from the demand management fiscal policies that emerged from the Keynesian revolution of the 1930's and 1940's. There has been a great deal of debate over specific points of President Reagan's economic program and supply-side economics in general. No doubt this debate will continue for a number of years.

The purpose of the papers presented in this issue is to put supply-side economics into a proper historical and theoretical framework and to present alternative views as to the likely success or failure of supply-side economics as it has been implemented by the current administration. Separately, or even in total, the papers do not provide a definitive answer as to what impact supply-side economics will have on the economy or its various sectors. They do, however, go a long way toward putting supply-side economics and specific programs identified as supply-side prescriptions into a proper perspective. It is hoped that this accomplishment will then lead to more definitive conclusions.

The article by Donald E. Bedwell and Gary W. Tapp summarizes the proceedings of the Atlanta Conference on Supply-Side Economics in the 1980's held March 17-18, 1982. Excerpts from six distinguished speakers are featured.

In his presentation to the conference, Milton Friedman expressed optimism about the future of the economy based on two political developments: (1) the constitutional amendment to limit federal spending and balance the budget and (2) President Reagan's leadership in economic policy. In contrast, Lawrence Klein stated the President's economic advisers are "guilty of poor economic forecasting and introducing untested economic policies."

Martin Feldstein identified with the supply-side movement and cautioned that the Reagan economic program should be judged by its long term consequences and "not by its failure to live up to the naive short-term forecasts." Murray Weidenbaum emphasized the need to shift resources and decision-making from the public sector to the private sector.

Two undersecretaries of the Treasury, Beryl Sprinkel and Norman Ture, also made presentations. Sprinkel argued that the supply-side program can only work in a "stable monetary environment." Ture stated that the Reagan program does not emphasize the perfection of markets but rather government's role in identifying sources of market failure.

The authors conclude that the goal of the Atlanta Conference was to provide a forum for conflicting views on supply-side economics. As

stated before, it is hoped that this issue of *Studies in the Social Sciences* accomplishes the same task.

The article by Robert E. Keleher examines the theoretical and historical origins of supply-side economics. The paper begins with a fundamental axiom underlying economics—in making choices among alternative activities, individuals in society respond to relative prices. This is the foundation upon which supply-side economics rests. Moreover, it provides the economic rationale for the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981 which provided an across-the-board three year reduction in marginal tax rates. Tax reductions are designed to create the incentive for individuals (in the aggregate) to increase the supply of labor, saving, and investment and, over the long-run, promote economic growth.

Keleher puts supply-side economics in a proper historical perspective and in doing so demonstrates that it is not novel. Rather, it is a re-emergence of classical economics fostered by David Hume, the Physiocrats, and Adam Smith and later captured in the supply-side doctrine of Say's Law. It was the orthodox view held by economists until the 1930's and 1940's brought the Keynesian view (demand-side policy prescriptions) into prominence.

The article by James R. Barth and Joseph J. Cordes discusses the impact of tax cuts from both the Keynesian perspective and supply-side perspective—distinguishing between the political claims and economic reality of the latter. After establishing the dichotomy of economic views, they conclude that Keynesians view tax cuts as a stimulant for demand and therefore are likely to be inflationary, whereas from the supply-side perspective, tax cuts stimulate aggregate supply and therefore are consistent with lower rates of inflation.

Political claims concerning what supply-side economic policy can deliver have been varied. Some individuals have condemned supply-side economics on the grounds that it cannot deliver what its political proponents have promised. Barth and Cordes hypothesize that potentially new administrations have an incentive to exaggerate the economic gains offered by their policies in order to get them elected to office. However, whether or not the political promises made with respect to supply-side economics, in fact, become reality is not a justifiable criterion for judging the merits of supply-side economic policy "Exaggerated political claims may just as easily be based on bad as good economic policies."

With the political claims put into proper perspective, Barth and Cordes examine the economic reality of the effect of marginal tax reductions on labor supply and saving. They end their article on a brief discussion of the role of monetary policy in supply-side economic policy.

George Iden discusses the major provisions of the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981 for individuals and businesses and examines the broader

implications of the Tax Act in terms of budget issues and national goals. Unlike previous tax changes, the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981 focused on reductions in marginal tax rates that were concentrated at the higher income tax brackets. Individual tax provisions included a reduction of the maximum tax rate on non-labor income from 70% to 50%, an across-the-board reduction of 23% in marginal tax rates beginning in October 1, 1981, and reductions in the marriage penalty and estate taxes. Iden points out that these and other provisions are on the whole more beneficial to higher income groups relative to middle and lower income groups. On the other hand, spending cuts accompanying the tax cuts are more concentrated on lower income groups.

Business tax provisions include the accelerated cost recovery system (ACRS) which changes the tax lives of equipment and structures for depreciation purposes and leasing provisions which enable businesses to sell unused tax credits. Iden suggests that the ACRS provision may stimulate investment but also cause a reallocation of investment funds among different types of assets. The leasing provisions makes it more profitable for some businesses to invest, but may also cause a greater loss in revenue for the treasury than originally estimated.

Although tax cuts were designed to stimulate the economy to the point where the revenue loss would be negligible, we now face historically large deficits. Thus, Iden points out that large deficits appear to be more and more certain unless taxes are raised or government spending is reduced, or some combination thereof. In the short-run deficits may not be inflationary. The problem rests with persistent deficits and their tendency to crowd out private investment.

Focusing on the federal budget, Donald T. Wells asks three questions about President Reagan's economic program. First, how does the macro-perspective of supply-side economics differ from previous ways of viewing the budget? Second, does the Reagan program provide a valid theory of budgeting? Third, who is being affected by the program and in what ways?

With regard to the first question, there are similarities and differences between Reaganomics and Keynesian economics. Both schools of thought agree that government should reduce expenditures in times of inflation and reduce taxes during periods of recession. There exist two basic points of disagreement. During periods of inflation Keynesians say taxes should be increased while supply-siders say they should be reduced. In times of recession Keynesian policy makers think government expenditures should be increased but Reaganomics policy makers feel they should be reduced.

Wells does not find that the Reaganomics perspective provides the base for a viable budgetary theory. Besides the definitional problem that results from the confusion as to what Reaganomics actually is, it is stated

that the supply-side program is as much a political outlook on the role and function of government as it is an economic perspective relevant for budgeting. Reagan and his advisors see the budget as an instrument for reducing the size of government.

The third and final section considers questions of equity in the Reagan program. Employing survey research, Wells found that "Reaganomics has left the safety net intact in most human services programs, with the exception of employment services." However, additional budget cuts could negatively affect the safety net itself.

Like Wells, Congressman Newt Gingrich and Mark Florio take issue with supply-side economists. As their article states: "What America desperately needs today is a governing philosophy based on the understanding that all 'things' in our society are interrelated. We need a governing philosophy that is organic in nature, not mechanical." They argue that a logical economic doctrine that merely opposes liberalism simply is not enough. Instead there should be a positive, creative alternative to regulatory government.

The authors believe that humanity is on the threshold of a major new era in the history of technology. The dissemination of small computers will transform all facets of life. New understandings in biology will enable Americans to teach the World's people to heal and feed themselves. Journeying across an ocean of space, like explorers of old who sailed across an ocean of water, will change the world just as the development of the Americas revolutionized 16th century Europe. Gingrich and Florio conclude that the best government is one that fosters this new technology by giving opportunity to individuals and the private sector. The results, they believe, will be a decentralized and productive nation.

One general conclusion that may be derived from the papers presented here is that the debate over supply-side economics is far from its end. The high quality of papers certainly seal a number of loose ends, but we believe the authors would be unanimous in concluding that additional studies are required before any firm conclusions are made.

G. Thomas Sav
Assistant Professor of Economics

Paul E. Masters, Jr.
Associate Professor of Political Science

Volume Co-Editors

SUPPLY-SIDE ECONOMICS CONFERENCE IN ATLANTA*

Donald E. Bedwell and Gary W. Tapp

A major conference on supply-side economics—a concept as old as 18th Century English economist Adam Smith yet as immediate as the morning newspaper—drew the attention of students of economic policy to Atlanta in March.

The two-day conference, staged by Emory University's Law and Economics Center and the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, drew 323 business people, regulators and academicians, including not only supply-siders but monetarists and those subscribing to a multitude of other economic persuasions.

They flew in from around the country for "Supply-Side Economics in the 1980s," the spirited gathering that filled the Atlanta Hilton's Grand Ballroom March 17-18. Registrants heard speakers including two Nobel-Prizewinning economists, two undersecretaries of the Treasury, the chairman of President Reagan's Council of Economic Advisers, three congressmen, and other panelists, including an English banker who flew in to talk about the Thatcher government's economic policies.

Considering the ideological spectrum of the participants, it wasn't surprising that they sometimes expressed conflicting views on subjects ranging from the importance of federal budget deficits to the success of "Reaganomics" in general. Some even disagreed on a definition of supply-side economics, with one participant—Nobel laureate Milton Friedman—even declaring at one point, "There is no such thing as supply-side economics; there's only good or bad economics."

William A. Fickling Jr., chairman of the Atlanta Fed's Board of Directors, noted in opening remarks that the conference's subject would attract a crowd even in a stable economic era. "But in these times when we are trying a new kind of economics and in the midst of a serious recession," he said, "I think it's particularly interesting and exciting to be able to present this kind of program."

Atlanta Fed President William F. Ford traced the conference's evolution, noting that "the interest in supply-side economics has grown out of the frustration that U.S. policy makers and business leaders have felt about the inability of demand-driven economic policies to produce non-inflationary economic growth in our country."

"Out of the frustration that so many Americans have felt about these

---

This article first appeared in the May 1982 issue of the* **Economic Review *of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta.*

trends in our economic performance came the search for a new concept to guide us in managing our economic policies," he said. "And that, of course, is what supply-side economics is all about."

Unlike concepts of the past, he noted, supply-side theories were legislated into fact without years of academic discussion. With that omission in mind, the conference opened with a review of supply-side thinking and its theoretical foundations, moderated by Henry G. Manne, director of Emory's Law and Economics Center. That discussion served as an affirmative exposition of supply-side philosophy. It was followed by a session on alternative perspectives, which included a rebuttal by critics of the administration's approach. That session was moderated by Donald L. Koch, the Atlanta Fed's senior vice president and director of research, who would later moderate a panel of leading journalists offering their views on supply-side policies.

An early morning session on the second day served up a sampling of academic research into the subject, with academicians presenting a series of special papers. That session was moderated by Robert E. Keleher, Atlanta Fed research officer and authority on supply-side subjects.

Making sure that all the bases were covered, Atlanta Fed President Ford moderated a concluding session covering political views of supply-side economics. That session featured two of the three congressmen on the program—W. Philip Gramm, a Democrat from Texas, and Newt Gingrich, a Georgia Republican.

The opening discussion of theoretical foundations included the third—Jack Kemp, a New York Republican—along with Paul Craig Roberts, who holds the W. E. Simon Chair of Political Economy at Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies; Michael Boskin, professor of economics at Stanford University, and David Meiselman, director of the graduate economics program at Virginia Polytechnic Institute.

Session II, the alternate perspectives panel that included Nobel laureate Lawrence Klein and Harvard's Martin Feldstein, also featured Frank Morris, president of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston; Alan Lerner, senior vice president and money market economics at Bankers Trust Company in New York; Alan Reynolds, vice president and chief economist for Polyconomics, Inc. of Morristown, N.J.; Thomas Sargent, Professor of Economics at the University of Minnesota; David Lomax, group economist for England's National Westminister Bank Ltd. and Rudolph Penner, director of Tax Policy Studies at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington.

Both days of the conference, though, featured speakers with impressive credentials in government as well as business and academia.

At the early session on the second day, special academic papers were presented by Gerald P. Dwyer Jr., associate professor of economics at Emory; Dwight R. Lee, research fellow, Center for Study of Public Choice,

and associate professor at VPI; and James Gwartney, Florida State economics professor, who delivered a paper for himself and Richard Stroup, director of the Department of the Interior's Office of Policy Analysis.

The afternoon press panel brought together Malcolm S. Forbes, Jr., senior editor of **Forbes** magazine; Leonard Silk, economics columist for **The New York Times;** A. F. Ehrbar, a member of **Fortune's** board of editors, and George R. Melloan, deputy editor, editorial page, **The Wall Street Journal.**

The first day's highlight was a lively, if not face-to-face, debate between the two Nobel Prize winners, Milton Friedman and Lawrence Klein.

Friedman: Reaganomics has Good Chance

Predicting that Congress would not vote for higher taxes and higher government spending, Friedman expressed optimism that inflation "will be down under 5 percent in three or four years."

Friedman, long-time distinguished professor at the University of Chicago and currently a research fellow at the Hoover Institution, cautioned that "my crystal ball is not that good," and noted that "the major sources of my optimism at the moment is really political and not from the point of view of economics."

Two political developments, in particular, are encouraging to him. One is a constitutional amendment to limit federal spending and balance the budget.

Limiting federal spending, in Friedman's view, is crucial.

"I would rather have a federal government expenditure of $400 billion with a $100 billion deficit than a federal government expenditure of $700 billion completely balanced," he declared. The amendment to limit spending has 60 sponsors in the Senate.

The second encouraging development in the political sphere is that "President Reagan is of a different breed of ducks." Friedman said that every president in his lifetime has sought to "get in front of the other ducks . . . to find out where public opinion was going in the short run, and get in front of it." Reagan, on the other hand, "had been flying all by himself up there in the sky for 20 years, and the ducks finally got in back of him." As a result, Friedman said, Reagan will stick to principle and be "stubborn and obstinate."

Friedman declined the opportunity to launch a detailed scholarly defense of supply-side economics. In fact, he said "there is no such thing as supply-side economics," maintaining that the only things new about the concept are "its catchy label" and "the extent to which some people operating under that label have overpromised what it can deliver."

The essence of supply-side economics, Friedman argued, is the idea

that people will move in the direction of higher rewards and will leave activities where rewards are lower. Thus, proposals to slow the personal tax reduction or raise federal excise taxes are "bad economics," because they encourage higher federal spending.

Federal spending plays a key role in Friedman's view of our current economic dilemma. It has diverted resources from productive uses into other areas. Inflation combined with high marginal taxes has induced people to put their savings in nonproductive forms like housing.

"We have been paying people not to work," Friedman said. "We have been taxing them if they worked. We have been inducing them to put their assets in nonproductive forms."

Such discouragement of work makes it very difficult to increase productivity. In fact, Friedman said, "the only reason we have done as well as we have is because of the ingenuity which people have displayed in avoiding federal taxes and regulations."

Turning to the role of monetary policy, Friedman drew chuckles by noting that some of his best friends work for the Federal Reserve. Federal Reserve performance, on average, has been "pretty good," he said. He linked the economy's ups and downs since 1979 to the erratic behavior of the money supply over that period. Nevertheless, he said, given reduced government spending, "if the Federal Reserve can stick to its average policies," the market will adjust to short term changes.

Besides slow and steady money growth, renewed economic strength depends critically on a reduction in the size of government. In Friedman's view, "our present problems date more to the explosive growth of government than to any other single thing." Citing President Reagan's four part economic program of lower government spending, lower marginal tax rates, less regulation, and moderate, steady money growth, Friedman declared "nothing else will do it. All other proposals are smoke screens."

Friedman is dismayed that total government spending in fiscal 1983 is scheduled to be higer as a percentage of national income than it was in fiscal 1982. The only way to cut government spending, he argued, is to cut government revenues. Referring to the Laffer curve theory that lower taxes may increase revenues, Friedman said, "if the Lafferites were correct in the most extreme form and a particular cut in tax rates increased revenue, then my conclusion would be we hadn't cut tax rates enough—what I want to cut is government revenue because that's what feeds government spending."

Friedman chided Democrats who say Congress should raise taxes to help balance the budget. Asking "where do these born-again budget balancers come from?", Friedman answered that "they are not born-again budget balancers; they are what they have always been—big spenders. They don't want to balance the budget. What they want is to increase taxes so they will have more money to spend and won't have to cut spending."

The triumph of President Reagan's policy so far, according to Friedman, is that "he has made them talk on his terms." If the President were to give in now and repeal the tax increase and eliminate indexing, Friedman predicted that "inflation three years from now would be 25 percent a year . . . That," he said, "would be a clear sign that we are going back to our bad old ways of ever-increasing government spending and the roller coaster we have been on of up and down inflation."

But if the President sticks by his guns in reducing government spending, and the Fed can maintain its average monetary targets, "then I predict that three or four years from now the inflation rate will be down to 3 to 5 percent."

The precise ending of the current recession is not the crucial question, Friedman said. "The question is whether that expansion will once again be cut short by a Federal Reserve policy of excessive reduction in the quantity of money . . . ." If it is not, we have a good chance of continued reduction in inflation and a gradual decline in interest rates. Friedman's optimism, he concluded, is based on rising popular and political pressure to limit federal spending and on a strong president who finally "has the ducks flying behind him."

Klein: Poor Forecasting, Untested Theories Behind Huge Deficit

Following Friedman on the program, but not following him on economics, was Nobel laureate Lawrence Klein. Klein immediately took the offensive by characterizing some previous speakers as "a lot of sob sisters blaming the Federal Reserve for their troubles."

The Reagan administration's economic advisers, according to Klein, are guilty of poor economic forecasting and of introducing untested economic policies. Klein, who is the Benjamin Franklin Professor of Economics at the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School, told the conference that "the events of 1981 provide us with an extraordinary outcome in which certain popular renditions of supply side economics are shown to be false."

Klein said the Reagan policies and the policies of Prime Minister Thatcher in Great Britain are really "noncontrolled experiments on a grand scale," which he blamed for serious recession in both countries.

Asserting that "there is no visible evidence of the (supply side) effects having occurred," Klein hammered away at two lessons he said should be learned from this episode: (1) forecast accuracy is of great importance in the making of economic policy, and (2) professional peer review is essential before sophisticated arguments should be accepted as the basis for making economic policy."

Administration economists, Klein said, originally brushed aside criticism of their forecasts of 'cycle-free expansion accompanied by declining deficits, decelerating inflatin, and falling unemployment." They argued that forecasts as such were not important, Klein said.

"But their forecast was so wide of the mark that they could not see the dangerous territory into which they were leading the economy."

In his defense of the need for rigorous peer review, Klein criticized administration supply-side proponents who claimed that the incentive effects (to work harder and save more) would be large enough and quick enough to justify the declining deficit projections of March and July 1981. The fact was, Klein said, that "by July everybody knew" that those estimates were overly optimistic.

Differing again from previous speakers, Klein stated that research showed supply-side effect to be minimal at best.

"We could find some effects of tax rates on labor supply or on savings," he said, "but they were so small, so slow, and sometimes not statistically significant, that they were no basis at all on which to form a grandiose public policy proposition."

Turning to his own prescription for the present slowdown, Klein advocated "prudent demand management" policies together with associated structural policies.

Structural policies are best described as industrial policies to enhance productivity and improve competitiveness, Klein said. In fact, "in a true sense, these *are* suppy-side economic issues, much more in the spirit of supply-side than the single-minded preoccupation with tax cutting." Along this line, Klein approved of the administration's more generous tax guidelines for depreciation, but said they do not go far enough.

Klein suggested increases in investment tax credits, special support for R&D, and increased support for basis scientific research. Instead, Klein said the administration is reducing federal support of R&D and basic, non-military research.

To stimulate productivity growth, Klein argued, we need to invest not only in fixed capital but in human capital. This calls for training programs, especially for the young unemployed. Rather than a publicly-supported CETA type program, he would like to see a cooperative scheme between the public and private sectors.

Agreeing with supply-siders who want to promote saving, Klein suggested a scheme to make workers' pension funds more portable in the private sector, "something like the TIAA system for academic retirement accounts."

As another facet of stimulating supply, Klein said we should be prepared for a major oil supply interruption during the 1980s. The current world oversupply of oil makes this a good time to fill the strategic oil reserve and to stockpile various other basic raw materials.

The most essential issue in reducing inflation, Klein said, is not the money supply—it is the rate of productivity growth. To encourage such growth, he advocated an incomes policy which would either penalize firms that gran excessive wage increases or reward firms that restrain prices. He cited Austria as an example of successful application of such

an incomes policy.

"Alternatives exist," Klein concluded, "and they go far beyond macro demand management. From my perspective, they involve many aspects of the supply side . . ., but not simply large scale tax cuts."

Feldstein: Conceptual Foundation

Martin Feldstein, professor of economics at Harvard University and president of the National Bureau of Economic Research, supplied a counterpoint to Klein in his address on "The Conceptual Foundation of Supply-Side Economics."

Feldstein described supply-side philosophy as "a retreat from the Keynesian ideas that have dominated economic policy for the past 35 years." The supply-side "revolution," as Feldstein called it, rejects the Keynesian emphasis on expanding demand to raise income and also rejects the Keynesian fear of saving.

Identifying himself with the supply-side movement, Feldstein said "we recognize that more saving is a prerequisite for the increased capital formation that can raise productivity and the standard of living."

Feldstein joined Friedman, Rep. Kemp, and several other speakers in refuting the notion that supply-side theory is a new, untested fad. He traced its origins back to two centuries to Adam Smith's view that a nation's wealth and prosperity depend ultimately on its capacity to produce. Smith also believed that the free market—without government interference—will in general see that capital resources and labor are allocated to their most productive uses.

This view dominated economic thinking until the depression of the 1930s "diverted attention from the long-run problem of creating productive capacity to the short-run problem of maintaining demand."

In the ensuing years, "what began as a policy of government spending intended only to stimulate the private sector back to the full use of the economy's capacity soon became the basis for widespread intervention in all aspects of the private economy." More recently, Feldstein said, "careful empirical studies have confirmed that governmental policy has not only often failed to eliminate the problems it was designed to solve but has frequently exacerbated those very problems or created new and unanticipated problems."

The new policies adopted in 1981 were based not only on classical economic principles, Feldstein reminded his audience, but also on continuing academic and political discussion from the mid-1970s through 1981.

Unfortunately, he said, some administration spokesmen "actually believed the extreme supply-side theor and predicted that the new policy would cause an immediate surge in economic growth and productivity and a rapid decline in the inflation rate."

While he acknowledged that "the economy's performance is not living up to these naive and euphoric forecasts," Feldstein stressed that it

is vital to judge the program by its long-term consequences and "not by its failure to live up to the naive short-term forecasts."

Feldstein traced the high inflation, low capital formation, and declining productivity growth of the '70s to "a whole range of government policies," including:

- tax rules that penalized saving and discouraged business investment
- a Social Security program that made saving virtually unnecessary for the majority of the population
- credit rules that encouraged large mortgages and extensive consumer credit
- perennial government deficits that absorbed private saving and shrank the resources available for investment

The 1981 tax policy, in Feldstein's view, attacks this government-inspired discouragement of saving through several substantial changes in the personal tax rules aimed at encouraging saving. He cited NBER studies indicating that the IRA accounts alone will begin producing substantial new savings after about two years.

The tax act also provides a dramatic reduction in business tax rates on new investments and should produce much higher net rates of return.

Feldstein's belief that the administration's basic approach represents sound policy rests largely on what he sees as "a complete reversal of the roles assigned to monetary and fiscal policy."

Macroeconomic policy of the '60s sought to combine easy money to stimulate investment with a tight fiscal policy to prevent inflation. "That strategy clearly failed," Feldstein said

Monetary authorities will now disregard the goal of increasing investment and will focus exclusively on achieving a low inflation rate. Fiscal policy, in turn, will focus on stimulating saving and investment by targeted tax incentives. Feldstein believes the result will be "not a permanent conflict between monetary and fiscal policies . . ., but a coordinated mix designed to twist spending away from housing and consumption and toward business investment."

The reductions in personal tax rates will not be inflationary, according to Feldstein, but not because the tax cuts will unleash a powerful supply-side response, as called for in the "extreme form of Lafferite wishful thinking that candidate Reagan discussed early in his campaign." In reality, "there will be virtually no reduction in the share of personal income taken by taxes" because the reduction will be mostly offset by bracket creep.

"Because the administration never explained that there are essentially no personal rate cuts," Feldstein said, "its critics have charged that its fiscal policy is irresponsibly inflationary."

Feldstein believes that continued spending reductions can gradually lower the deficit and make more money available for investment. To do this, however, the administration must "look beyond the list of budget

categories that it dealt with in its most recent budget." Returning non-defense spending to the same share of GNP that it had in 1970, Feldstein pointed out, would reduce federal outlays by 5 percent of GNP and achieve a balanced budget.

Noting that Congress "probably did not recognize how long and arduous the transition period would be," Feldstein declared that "the administration's economic program is on the right track and the current recession is an inevitable part of the process of reducing inflation."

Administration Spokesmen

The Reagan administration was well represented at the gathering to advocate its point of view and to respond to its critics. Administration representatives included Murray Weidenbaum, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, and the two undersecretaries of the Treasury: Beryl Sprinkel, undersecretary for monetary affairs, and Norman Ture, undersecretary for tax and economic affairs.

Weidenbaum, while defending the administration's achievements to date ("The fundamental effort to shift resources and decisionmaking from the government to the private sector is as needed and meritorious as ever") was candid in discussing its dilemmas as well.

"We have tried to avoid repeating the mistakes of the past, although no doubt we will produce a full quota of new mistakes," Weidenbaum conceded.

He forecast that the resulting educational process will make for both a stronger economy and an improved understanding of the workings of economic policy. Yet, he added, "it is far too early for anyone to make a definitive evaluation of Reaganomics."

The first year of the Reagan administration, he said, has produced such gains as lower tax burdens and dramatically reduced inflation. And, he added, the public can look for further benefits in economic growth and rising employment as the economy pulls out of its current recession.

Like other administration spokesmen, though, he indicated that the recovery's timing depends on a number of variables.

"The precise timing, speed, strength and duration of that recovery," he said, "will be affected by how quickly interest rates decline from the current high levels." At the same time, he said, those interest rate shifts during 1982 are certain to be influenced by the degree of progress in paring the federal budget deficits.

Weidenbaum noted that the fiscal year 1982 budget deficit will be in the neighborhood of $100 billion, substantially above the 1981 figure of $58 billion. Yet he pointed to the irony that, despite the swelling deficit projections, the closely watched Consumer Price Index inflation barometer has declined from the 12 to 13 percent range of late 1980 to a 4-6 percent range in recent months.

"I am not so partisan as to contend the deficits of one political party are inherently less inflationary than those of another," Weidenbaum said with a smile. "But I would defend the germ of truth that is embedded in that proposition—namely, that deficits associated with tax reductions are less of a problem for the economy than those arising from a spending increase."

Weidenbaum characterized the projected deficits as "a matter of considerable concern but not national hysteria.

"The inflationary consequences so often attributed to past deficits have actually been the result of inappropriate monetary policy, which monetized those deficits," he said. "We have contended that a policy of monetary restraint—a substantial reduction in the growth of the money supply from the rapid pace that characterized much of 1979 and 1980—would contain the inflationary potential of deficit spending."

He praised the Federal Reserve and its monetary policy for reining in the nation's runaway inflation, and reiterated the administration's support for those efforts. But he said of the Fed's monetary targets: "I wish their aim would improve—but then again, they do too."

Undersecretary Sprinkel too referred to the Fed's monetary policy in a presentation he called "Reaganomics: The Monetary Component."

"The monetary component of Reagonomics is critical to the overall program," said Sprinkel, a former Harris Bank of Chicago economist.

"The supply-side promise of real growth and prosperity is sound; the incentive effects will work in America in the 1980s just as they have worked hundreds of times before in our own country and in other countries.

"But they will not work unless there is a fertile, stable monetary environment," he said. "You can have the best seeds in the world, but they won't grow without the proper soil."

Sprinkel argued that the Federal Reserve is capable of controlling the nation's money supply and, therefore, what he called the economy's "monetary environment."

Explaining, he said the data show that inflation, nominal GNP and interest rates all follow the growth of M1—the Fed's basic measure of money, including cash and checkable deposits in financial institutions. He said M1 growth of the monetary base—which he defined as "simply the sum of certain items on the Federal Reserve's balance sheet." Since the Fed can control the largest asset, its portfolio of government securities, Sprinkel said, the Fed "could, if it chose, control the base to the penny."

According to Sprinkel, the administration inherited "a pretty tough situation" when it took office early in 1981.

"In the last 12 months we have had to spend a great deal of time repairing the wreckage from the last administration," he said. "But we are now on a sure, steady course toward low inflation, low interest rates and real economic rates and real economic growth in America."

"For us fully to realize our potential," he concluded, "we must have less volatility in monetary growth."

Sprinkel disputed claims—repeated by some conference speakers—that the administration's supply-side policies are fighting with its monetarist policies: that the Reagan fiscal policy and the tight money policy of the Fed are running headlong into each other.

"In spite of the frequency of their appearance in the media, both of these statements are untrue," according to Sprinkel. "Not only are supply-side and monetarist policies compatible, it is *essential* that they go together."

The supply-side of economic policy, he explained, deals with the impact of government spending and financing on the willingness and ability of individuals to take a chance on productive ventures. The monetarist component, he said, deals with money in the belief that high and variable monetary growth and inflation discourage work, savings and investment and that inflation is primarily a monetary phenomenon.

"The goal of the supply-side and monetary elements of our policy is the same: to increase the productive potential of the economy," he declared. "The only difference is that they focus on different aspects of government behavior, one on the demand side and the other on the supply."

And Reaganomics? He defined that as a combination approach "carefully designed to rid us of stagflation by limiting money growth and inflation, while increasing incentives to produce real goods and services."

Norman Ture, undersecretary of the Treasury for tax and economic affairs, joined Sprinkel in a spirited defense of the president's economic program.

The Reagan program, he cautioned, should not be construed as blind faith in the perfection of markets. Instead it holds that "the responsibility properly assigned to government is to seek to identify the sources of market failure and to seek to facilitate more efficient market operation." In turn, government must reject what Ture called the "elitist notion that public policy makers know better than private market participants what is good for them—the private market participants."

The administration program also rejects short run fine tuning of the economy, Ture said, and focuses instead on long run policy objectives.

To help the private market perform more efficiently, Ture said, "the policy thrust toward an ever-mounting edifice of complex regulations must be reversed." In particular, the "antique regulations of financial institutions" should be eliminated.

Replying to some previous speakers who questioned how closely the Reagan program represented a supply-side approach, Ture said, "I do not mean to suggest that the President or his principal policy advisers toiled through the supply-side exegesis in order to formulate the programs." But had they done so, he maintained, "the overall program would have

differed little, if at all, from that which the President presented in 1981."

Citing the supply-side rejection of a positive relationship between levels of government spending and total output, for example, Ture argued that the Reagan program sees reduced federal spending as a key to expanded output and employment.

The tax policy portion of the administration's program also reflects sound supply-side principles, in Ture's view. By reducing marginal tax rates, the 1981 tax act is intended to reduce the relative cost of working, saving, and investing. Ture took special notice of the "dramatic revision in our tax provisions pertaining to capital recovery," which he said will reduce the bias against saving and capital formation.

Turning to the more controversial question of budget deficits, Ture argued that supply-side theory rejects the view that budget deficits per se are inflationary. That erroneous view, he said, rests on the observation that those deficits tend to be monetized. Consequently, the administration program calls for the "institutional link between monetary expansion and government deficits" to be broken.

"Monetary policy," Ture said, "should pursue a firm policy of slow and steady growth in the stock of money, substantially oblivious to budget prospects or outcomes."

Ture joined Sprinkel, Weidenbaum, and Friedman in defending the intellectual and empirical basis for the administration program. Far from being "novel, exotic . . . or abstract," the program rests on "an extremely rigorous and hard-headed analytical system . . . with an extensive empirical record."

Finally, Ture said, the program should be judged not by any short-term gains in housing, construction or other sectors, but by "the progress toward greater economic freedom, toward investing the individual with greater opportunity and responsiblity for determining his or her economic status."

Conclusion

Not every participant at the Atlanta conference agreed with the administration spokesman's viewpoint, of course, any more than everyone concurred with the criticisms voiced by supply-side's detractors. The conference's structure provided a cross-section of opinion expressed by panelists from points as distant as Wall Street and London's Threadneedle Street—panelists who, in some cases, proved as far apart ideologically as they did geographically. By virtue of its balanced nature, the gathering was designed to stimulate an exchange of conflicting views rather than a rubber-stamp uanimity.

"Supply-Side Economics in the 1980s" helped focus attention on the effects of tax rate policy on savings, investment and work effort. Participants may have differed on the importance of tax incentive policies on the

national economy, but there seemed to be general agreement that it was a crucial subject too often overlooked in the past.

Sponsors had organized the program, in part, to encourage eminent opinion-shapers to discuss two fundamental questions regarding supply-side economics. First, does the supply-side approach hold the answers to the nation's troubling economic maladies? And, if not, what are the alternatives?

Obviously, the conference didn't provide neatly packaged answers to all the questions its sponsors had raised, nor was it likely to have done so. Yet it provided an open and far-ranging forum for some of the nation's most respected thinkers to offer their perspectives on the supply-side concept. So, if the Atlanta meeting raised a multitude of perplexing questions, surely it defined a framework for producing the answers as well.

THE THEORETICAL BASIS AND HISTORICAL ORIGINS OF SUPPLY-SIDE ECONOMICS

Robert E. Keleher

An abundance of criticism of supply-side economics is frequently voiced these days. We hear, for example, that it is "voodoo economics," that it is simply the latest fad, and even that supply-side economists are quacks.

Is supply-side economics really just a lot of "quackery"? Is it novel? Is it already yesterday's craze? Several well known economists and leaders in this country have stated that it is some or all of these things.

In view of this almost daily criticism we hear about supply-side economics, an examination of these questions is in order. In particular, an inquiry into the theoretical basis and historical origins of supply-side economics seems especially appropriate.

Defining Supply-Side Economics

Before beginning this inquiry, however, it is apparent that supply-side economics has come to mean many things to many people. Consequently, a brief definition and elaboration of the essential features of supply-side economics will be made.

The single line of thought that distinguishes economics from other fields of inquiry is that human behavior responds to changes in economic incentives. Other things being equal, buyers of products purchase less of that product when the price is high. On the other hand, suppliers of that product supply more. The quantity supplied and demanded responds to price. Similarly, it is generally recognized that when you tax a product, you get less of it. And, in general, when you subsidize a product, you get more of it.

It is also common knowledge that the U.S. economy has performed rather poorly in recent years. Real economic growth, productivity growth, and personal savings rates have been low. Unemployment has been high. Supply-side economics recognizes that this poor economic performance is related to the existence of sharply higher tax rates since the mid-1960s. That is, a primary reason for this poor economic performance is that we are taxing work, saving, and output while at the same time subsidizing consumption, nonwork, leisure, unemployment, and retirement. Supply-siders contend that if you want more of something, tax it less. And if you want less of something, subsidize it less. Consequently, in order to get more work, saving, and output, these economists recommend lowering tax rates on these activities. Similarly, in order to get less unemployment

and nonwork, they recommend reducing their subsidies. Thus, supply-side economics has to do with the use of fiscal policy to increase production and aggregate supply by making work more attractive than nonwork and saving more attractive than nonsaving. In short, supply-side economics focuses on the effects that tax rates have on relative prices, aggregate supply, and, hence, economic growth.

More specifically, there are *three basic elements of supply-side theory* that merit further discussion.

First, and probably most fundamental, is the idea that changes in (marginal) tax rates *are* changes in relative prices and, consequently, will always affect choice, the allocation of resources, and real economic activity. Accordingly, changes in tax rates will have important repercussions on the incentives of individuals to supply labor and capital to the market. Tax-induced relative price changes affect choices between (1) work and leisure, (2) consumption and savings, and (3) market activity and nonmarket activity. Consequently, reductions in tax rates—by inducing shifts from leisure to work, from consumption to saving, and from nonmarket activity to market activity—have important implications for changes in aggregate supply and economic growth. In sum, supply-side economists view changes in tax rates as incentive changes rather than income changes.

A *second fundamental element* of supply-side economics is the relationship between tax rates and output. Specifically, when tax rates are near zero, output is low because certain public goods which are essential for markets to operate are not being provided. Examples of such goods might include justice (a conducive legal framework), defense, law and order, the maintenance of roads, and primary education. As tax rates rise, these essential public goods and services are provided and economic activity expands. That is, the provisioning of these public goods contributes to rapid increases in the productive efficiency of capital and labor, and consequently, output. At this initial stage, the effects of these increases in productive efficiency outweigh (or increase faster than) any disincentive effects of higher tax rates (i.e., efficiency gains due to government expenditures are greater at initial stages than efficiency losses due to increased tax rates). However, as tax rates are increased further, disincentives and inefficiencies due to these higher tax rates begin to become more important. Specifically, these increased tax rates alter relative prices and cause the after-tax rewards to saving, investing, and working for taxable income to decline. Individals, then, have less incentive to save, invest, and work for taxable income. Consequently, people shift out of these activities into leisure, consumption, tax shelters, and working for nontaxable income. As a result, the market supply of goods and services—i.e., aggregate supply and, hence, economic growth—is less than would otherwise be the case. At the same time, public good-induced improvements in the productive efficiency of factors increase at a *slower* rate (because less essential public goods are provided). Consequently, output gains become smaller

and smaller. Eventually, total output peaks and begins to decline as the efficiency gains due to government expenditures are completely offset by efficiency losses and disincentives due to high tax rates. Additional tax rate increases lead to even further output declines as factor supplies continue to be withdrawn from production.

This relationship between aggregate market output and tax rates is of primary concern to supply-side economists. It represents the basic concern of the supply-side view, which is to support those public policies under which economic growth is maximized.

The fact that tax rate changes affect the supply of factors of production and, in turn, aggregate supply implies that tax rate changes also have implications related to tax revenues. In particular, tax revenue is equal to the product of the tax rate times the tax base. Since tax rate changes affect aggregate supply, these rate changes also affect the tax base—sometimes in the opposite direction. This recognition has led to the explicit depiction of the relationship between tax rates and tax revenues or the Laffer curve. The Laffer curve is essentially a by-product of the above-discussed tax rate/output curve. (The tax rate/tax revenue curve can be derived from the output/tax rate curve by multiplying the tax rate times the output to yield the tax revenue generated at each tax rate.)

A *third* basic element of supply-side economics is the recognition that the various relationships of changes in tax rates to incentives, factor supplies, output, and tax revenues are long-run relationships. All economists recognize that elasticities become larger the longer the time frame under consideration. Hence, the longer the time frame, the more potent will supply tax cuts become. Supply-side economics, then, relates to policies for long-run economic growth and not to policies for smoothing the business cycle; i.e., it pertains to growth, not stabilization.

* * * * *

A good many commentators view supply-side economics as a novel response to the demand-side policies that have been employed by various administrations over the past 20 years or so. As such, they often characterize supply-side economics as both a novel theory and as most likely the latest fad among economists. Thus, they view supply-side economics as both novel and a fad. Supply-side economics, after all, has been referred to as voodoo economics, snake-oil economics, as well as tooth-fairy economics. It has been called ill-conceived. One former Carter economic advisor referred to 1981 as "the Year of the Quack." Another former advisor to a previous Democratic Administration referred to the supply-side tax program as "the most irresponsible fiscal action in modern times."

These characterizations—many of which were made by well-trained economists—will be shown to be incorrect. That is, it will be demonsrated that supply-side economics is neither novel nor a fad but rather constitutes a re-emergence of classical economics and the classical economic principles of public finance. In particular, the supply-side view constitutes a return

to the dominant orthodox strain of macro public finance analysis which originated with the attacks of David Hume, the Physiocrats, Adam Smith, and others on mercantilism. Specifically, each and every one of the fundamental elements described above were stated over and over again by the classical economists. Anyone familiar with these writings cannot help but to recognize this fact.

The Mercantilists

In order to understand the message of the classical economists, it is necessary to understand the circumstances under which they wrote. The period prior to 1750, for example, can be characterized as one dominated by mercantilist thought and mercantilist economic policies. These policies consisted of various forms of governmental intervention and control of the economy. This intervention and governmental control took the fom of strict regulation of markets and guilds, quotas, licensing for export and import trade, royal industries, public works, paternalism, the subsidization of certain industries, grants of monopoly charters and patents, and colonial restrictions. Special interest groups were able to obtain governmental favors from price fixing to the exclusion of competitors. High tariffs and other taxes (such as transportation tolls, church taxes, and excise taxes) were rampant. Moreover, mercantilists viewed wealth as a zero-sum game. That is, wealth to the mercantilist was something gained at the expense of someone else. As a consequence, mercantilists were more concerned with the transfer as opposed to the creation of wealth. In short, the mercantilist period was characterized by high tax rates, a high degree of government regulation, and sluggish economic growth.

High tax rates, a high degree of government regulation, and sluggish economic growth—does this sound familiar? Critics of current policies often equate Reagonomics with a turning-back-of-the-clock. If one really wants to go backwards and turn-back-the-clock, one should adopt those policies of government regulation and high tax rates which were commonplace *before* the period of laissez faire.

The Classical Economists

It was in this mercantilist environment that the writings of Hume, the Physiocrats, and Smith took root and flourished. For they were responding to the high tax rates and government intervention of the day. They began to piece together the basic elements of what is now known as supply-side economics outlined above. The Physiocrats, for example, acknowledged a relationship between tax rates and output. They indicated that if the state and church were to appropriate more than third of the income of the landed proprietors, net product would decline. David Hume recognized this relationship as well as the tax rate/tax revenue relationship, especially

for tariffs.

Adam Smith, however, was the first economist who put it all together. Smith, building on the writings of the Physiocrats and Hume as well as on philosophers such as Locke and Montesquieu, presented a tax-related scheme that fully incorporated all of the supply-side principles cited above. Rather than being concerned with the transfer of wealth as were the mercantilists, Smith was above all concerned with the production or creation of wealth. To Smith, wealth consisted of real goods and services rather than the stock of gold, and a nation was rich or poor according to its annual production of goods and services.[1] Smith's focus on aggregate supply formed the basis of his primary theme, namely, the nature and causes of wealth and economic growth. This is evident in the full title of his 1776 classic, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations.* Indeed, this pervasive concern for economic growth dominated every aspect of classical economics.[2]

Smith indicated that in order to increase economic growth, emphasis needed to be placed upon increasing aggregate supply and production rather than on increasing the monetary gold stock (the mercantilist prescription). According to Smith, increases in aggregate supply necessarily implied increases in the supply of labor and capital. The importance of incentives in eliciting increases in labor and capital was stressed in the *Wealth of Nations.* Smith, for example, explicitly stated that wage increases would *always* increase the supply of labor. He indicated that taxes on wages were "absurd and destructive" and that high taxes would "obstruct the industry of people" as well as promote underground or tax avoidance activities such as smuggling. Moreover, Smith showed that taxes on capital and profits would introduce disincentives on saving-investing activity. He contended that these disincentives would promote an outmigration of capital and, hence, adversely affect economic growth. In sum, Smith recognized that changes in tax rates had important effects on incentives and affected the choices between work and nonwork, saving and consumption, and market and nonmarket activity.

Finally, Smith also clearly recognized the essentials of the relationship between taxes and output described above. In documenting this contention, one passage in the *Wealth of Nations* merits particular attention in that Smith explicitly states the intentions of his writing:

> "That the mercantile system (and its high rates of taxation) has not been very favorable to the revenue of the great body of the people, to the annual produce of the land and labour of the country, I have endeavored to show in . . . this inquiry. It seems not to have been more favorable to the revenue of the sovereign, so far at least as that revenue depends upon the duties of customs."[3]

Smith also clearly and repeatedly stated the Laffer view that when tax rates are high, tax revenues and tax rates can move in opposite directions. He continually asserted, for example, that high tariffs discouraged import consumption, promoted smuggling, and worked to diminish government revenue. More moderate tax rates, Smith contended, would provide larger tax revenues. *In sum, Smith endorsed all of the essential elements of supply-side economics outlined above.*

Smith's endorsement of a fully consistent supply-side view was important not only in and of itself but because he was so influential. Virtually all economists of later generations were familiar with his writings and, hence, were influenced by Smith to some degree.[4]

Say's Law

Among those so influenced were two economists, J. B. Say and James Mill. Say and Mill further refined some of Smith's views. In particular, Say and Mill refined the view of the primacy of aggregate supply into what became known as Say's Law. The central theme of Say's Law is that production and aggregate supply create wealth and economic growth. That is, there cannot be more real income unless people produce more. The idea underlying Say's Law is quite simple: people produce in order to consume. Workers' or businessmen's buying power consists of their supplying power. Supply or production, then, is the wherewithal or means for demand and the origin of demand lies in production.

The important implication of Say's Law is that the goal of policy should be to foster production and aggregate supply rather than consumption and aggregate demand. If aggregate supply is promoted, demand will take care of itself. This was well stated in 1803 by Say himself:

> "The encouragement of mere consumption is no benefit to commerce; for the difficulty lies in supplying the means, not in stimulating the desire of consumption; and we have seen, that production alone, furnishes those means. Thus, *it is the aim of good government to stimulate production, of bad government to encourage consumption* . . . . It is impossible to deny the conclusion, that the best taxes . . . are least injurious to reproduction."[5]

As a corollary to fostering aggregate supply, emphasis should be given to the encouragement of factor supplies. This emphasis on aggregate supply, according to Say's Law, is the fundamental ingredient to the creation of wealth and consequently economic growth.

Say's Law was strongly supported by James Mill, David Ricardo, John Stuart Mill, and many others. Supporters of Say's Law all recognized the important role of incentives in fostering the supply of labor, savings, and investment. Both Say and Mill, for example, indicated that increases

in wages would *always* work to increase the supply of labor. Given their pervasive concern for economic growth, these economists supported tax policies which fostered work effort, savings, and investment, and hence, aggregate supply and production. Supporters of Say's Law recognized that high tax rates would work to destroy the incentives to work, save, and invest and therefore would adversely affect economic growth. John Stuart Mill, for example, stressed that high tax rates would "discourage industry by insufficiency of reward." High tax rates, Mill maintained, would diminish the motive to save and cause both capital and labor to migrate. According to Mill, when tax rates had reached this level, they should be reduced so as to stimulate the supply of labor, capital, and, hence, aggregate supply.

In sum, supporters of Say's Law endorsed all the elements of supply-side economics outlined above. Say's Law constituted the essence of the supply-side view and formed the basis of much classical thinking on public finance. The fundamentals of supply-side economics, therefore, became well established with the development and elaboration of Say's Law and its implications. Because of its general acceptance, the emphasis on the primacy of aggregate supply and economic growth came to dominate economic thinking until about World War I. Contributions to this view made by later economists consisted largely of more lucid clarifications or more elegant restatements of the same principles.

Some Restatements

In clarifying the relationship between tax rates and output, a contribution of some of these later writers was the emphasis they placed on the incentives for circumventing and avoiding taxes brought about by high tax rates. That is, these writers argued that high tax rates adversely affect production and output not only because of shifts from production into leisure (and from savings into consumption), but by encouraging shifts from taxable activity into nontaxable (and often unproductive) activity. This nontaxable activity included illegal activities, such as smuggling, fraud, and evasion, but also included legal activities such as the migration of factors of production. These classical writers repeated over and over again that one sure way to recognize when tax rates are excessive is to identify when a great deal of tax avoidance activity is taking place.

All of these writers also restated the relationship between tax rates and tax revenues. They declared over and over again that when tax rates were confined to moderate limits, they were more productive of tax revenue than when they were excessive. When tax rates increased beyond moderate levels, tax revenues decreased not only because of decreased production but also because of shifts to tax avoidance activities. Indeed there are examples of instances when classical authors were so confident that tax revenues would increase with a reduction of tax rates that they

advocated tax cuts in the face of fiscal deficits.[6] An example of a practical application of this was the administration of the late British Prime Minister William Gladstone who advocated cutting taxes in order to *reduce* the deficit.

Various writers in the mid-to-late nineteenth century continued to support these views and, consequently, propagated and perpetuated supply-side economics. One prominent supporter of these views was John Stuart Mill. It is well known that "all through the second half of the 19th century Mill's *Principles of Political Economy* was the undisputed bible of economists . . . . As late as 1900, Mill's work was still the basic textbook in elementary courses in both British and American Universities."[7] This long, unchallenged dominance of Mill's work not only enhanced the prominence of Say's Law but extended credence to the supply-side view in general so that this view remained largely unchallenged by economists until the interwar period.

In addition to being supported by the profession's leading thinkers (like Mill), this view came to be well accepted by most economists and indeed was regarded as the dominant view of fiscal policy by public finance economists within the academic community. In any review of the period's public finance literature, a strong supply-side orientation is evident. Public finance economists of the day placed most emphasis on the following principle of taxation: the best tax system is the one which interferes least with economic growth. Thus, the growth aspects of taxation were more important to these writers than any other concern of taxation. Some of the authors of this period actually made explicit empirical estimates of the point at which they believed taxation became exorbitant. One author, for example, indicated that when the sum of state, local, and federal taxation exceeds 12 or 13 percent of private incomes, it brings about a slowdown in economic growth.[8]

In sum, the public finance economists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries fully endorsed the supply-side view. They recognized and spelled out all of the above cited essential features of supply-side economics. During this period, then, supply-side economics was the orthodox view among economists and, indeed, dominated macroeconomics so thoroughly that it was "virtually never challenged."[9]

The Demise of the Supply-Side View

Events in the interwar period ended the century-long dominance of the supply-side view. Along with the demise of the supply-side view came the rejection of Say's Law, i.e., Say's Law came to be seen as obsolete. It was during this period that fiscal considerations such as income distribution and stabilization came to replace economic growth as principal concerns of fiscal policy.

Much of the reason for the dramatic shift in emphasis in fiscal policy

from growth to stabilization and income distribution relates to the circumstances of the period. First, there was a dramatic collapse of the money supply and of aggregate demand. Since this produced large amounts of idle capacity and unemployment, there was no need to encourae aggregate supply, i.e., excess supplies of labor and capital were readily available. Rather, the proper policy prescription was to stimulate aggregate demand.

Second, because of the banking collapse, monetary policy was seen as fully impotent. Because of this supposed inabiliy to stimulate demand via traditional channels of monetary policy, it was thought that the stimulation of aggregate demand had to occur via fiscal policy. Hence, the primary emphasis of fiscal policy shifted from fostering aggregate supply to that of stimulating aggregate demand. More generally, this shift of emphasis constituted a shift from (supply-oriented) policies related to long-run economic growth to short-run (demand-oriented) policies concerned with stabilizing the business cycle, i.e., a shift in orientation from growth to stabilization. Paralleling the emergence of this new stabilization function of fiscal policy was a call to employ taxation and spending policies to bring about a "more proper" distribution of income. The growth function of fiscal policy, then, was supplanted by stabilization and income redistribution functions.

Evidence of this shift in emphasis and the subordination of supply-side views is easily recognized in the public finance textbooks of the 1930s and 1940s. It is also seen in the substantial increase in the relative size of the public sector vis-a-vis the private sector and in the growth in government spending for "social" purposes. This increased size of government, of course, necessitated increases in tax rates. Since the effects of taxation on aggregate supply had been subordinated, however, there was little discussion of the effects of higher tax rates on the supply of labor and capital as well as an output and economic growth. High tax rates were seen as not necessarily bad. Indeed, it was often contended that high tax rates had little if any adverse effects on the supply of labor. Some economists of this period even asserted that tax rate increases would increase work effort. Moreover, since saving was seen as a leakage from the income-expenditure flow, the "new economics" came to view increases in saving as adversely affecting economic activity. According to this view, output was determined by aggregate demand and not by saving or other factor supplies.

The Re-emergence of Supply-Side Economics

Recently there has been a re-emergence of supply-side views. This re-emergence is related to recent economic circumstances which are all too familiar to everyone in this audience. Specifically, the recent period has been characterized by (1) high and rising tax rates, (2) increased government regulation and intervention in the economy, (3) increasing amounts of tax-avoidance activities, and (4) lower rates of economic

growth. Indeed, the set of circumstances existing in recent years has begun to resemble those conditions of the mercantilist era which induced the classical economists to reject the economic policies of the mercantilists. Like the classical economists centruies earlier, some economists have come to recognize the adverse effects that high tax rates and government intervention can have on incentives, factor supplies, and economic growth. This has led to a re-emergenceof supply-side (classical) principles of public finance. Although dormant, then, the supply-side view was not dead.

Summary and Conclusions

(1) Supply-side economics is neither novel nor is it a fad. Rather, it is well-rooted in classical macroeconomic analysis and, in particular, classical principles of public finance. These views originated in the attacks of the Physiocrats, Hume, Smith, and other classical economists on the policies of mercantilism.

(2) The approach was further developed and elaborated by such economists as J. B. Say, James Mill, John Stuart Mill, J. R. McCulloch, and others.

(3) The dominance of the supply-side view continued uninterrupted until the interwar period when concerns such as stabilization and redistribution began to receive more emphasis than did the growth orientation of fiscal policy.

(4) Supply-side economics constitutes a return to the dominant orthodox strain of public finance. That is, supply-side economics constitutes a return to the classical principles of public finance.

Although not discussed here, these classical principles of public finance have often been successfully implemented in the past. The administration of William Gladstone, the Mellon tax cuts in the 1920's, the Kennedy tax cuts in the 1960's, and experiences in Puerto Rico, Hong Kong, and elsewhere support this contention. Moreover, recent empirical studies have clearly documented significant incentive responses to changes in marginal tax rates. Given (1) the very substantial precedent for these policies, (2) the fact that these views formed the basis for the policy prescriptions of the classical economists, and (3) the record of successful implementation of these policies, it is evident that supply-side economics cannot be dismissed as "voodoo economics," "quackery," and so forth.

NOTES

[1]Thomas Sowell, "Adam Smith in Theory and Practice," *Adam Smith and Modern Political Economy*, edited by Gerald P. O'Driscoll, Jr. (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1979), p. 5.

[2]*Ibid.*, p. 13.

[3]Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, edited by Edwin Canaan (Chicago: Univerity of Chicago, 1976), II, 438.

[4]Incidentally, it is interesting to note that the same writers who influenced Smith—namely writers of the classical liberal tradition such as Locke, Montesquieu, and Hume—also influenced the founding fathers of the United States. Many of the above-cited essential features of supply-side economics, for example, can be found in the *Federalist Papers*. In No. 35 of the *Federalist Papers*, Hamilton contends that:

> "There is no part of the administration of government that required extensive information and a thorough knowledge of the principles of political economy so much as the business of taxation. The man who understands those principles best will be least likely to resort to oppressive expedients, or to sacrifice any particular class of citizens to the procurement of revenue. It might be demonstrated that the most productive system of finance will always be the least burdensome."

Similarly, in No. 21, Hamilton describes the relationship between tax rates and tax revenues which is now referred to as the Laffer curve. Elements of supply-side economics, then, were recognized by the founding fathers as well as by Smith.

[5]Jean-Baptiste Say, *A Treatise on Political Economy*, Book III, pp. 92 and 196 (emphasis added).

[6]See, for example, D. P. O'Brien, *J. R. McCulloch: A Study in Classical Economics* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1970), p. 263.

[7]Mark Blaug, *Economic Theory in Retrospect* (3rd. ed.; Cambridge: University Press, 1978), p. 187.

[8]Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, "On Taxation in General," (1906), *Classics in the Theory of Public Finance*, edited by Richard Musgrave and Alan Peacock (New York: Macmillan, 1958), p. 164.

[9]William Harold Hutt, *A Rehabilitation of Say's Law* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1975), p. 2.

SUPPLY-SIDE ECONOMICS: POLITICAL CLAIMS VS. ECONOMIC REALITY

James R. Barth and Joseph J. Cordes

I. *Introduction*

Supply-side economics was the economic rationale for President Reagan's program to provide "a new beginning" for the U.S. economy. Based upon this view of how the economy operates, tax cuts for both businesses and individuals are the key to strong growth in output, greater labor productivity and lower inflation. However, even though the Congress passed legislation providing for substantial cuts in taxes in August of 1981, by the end of the same year the unemployment rate was 8.9 percent—only one-tenth of a percentage point below its post-World War II high—and showing no signs of abating. The prospects for reducing federal deficits, moreover, had diminished to the point that the President in November of 1981 withdrew his promise to balance the budget by 1984. During this recessionary period the only positive development was a declining inflation rate, though many have contended that the lower inflation rate was not primarily attributable to Administration policies, but rather due to fortuitous reductions in energy and farm prices.[1]

The economic developments during President Reagan's first year in office—declining inflation but no end in sight to large budgetary deficits and sharply rising unemployment—led many critical observers to call for a change in policies, including tax rate increases. Such critics contended that without such policies recovery from the 1981-1982 recession would be weak or that there would be another recession in 1983, resulting, therefore, in two straight economic recoveries shorter than any others since 1919.

The purpose of this paper is to put supply-side economics into proper perspective by distinguishing between political claims and economic reality. Stated another way, the purpose is to distinguish between the analytic foundations of supply-side economics and its political manifestation. Only in this way is it possible to evaluate the economic policies proposed, and to some degree already implemented, by the Reagan Administration. Once this has been done it will be seen that political claims for economic forecasts that eventually prove to be totally inaccurate may actually co-exist wth sensible economic policies.

II. *Keynesian Economics*

To understand supply-side economics, it is necessary to first discuss Keynesian economics. The Keynesian approach to economic policy was

an outgrowth of the Great Depression. According to Keynesians, the way to stimulate employment and output growth is through expansionary fiscal policies—that is, increased government spending and reduced taxes. Increased government spending directly increases the demand for goods and services while lower taxes provide individuals with more disposable income with which to increase consumption spending. The increased aggregate demand resulting from greater government spending and lower taxes drives up prices, inducing firms to increase production. More output, of course, requires more labor; so the unemployment rate would decline as output expands. Higher prices might also lead to higher wages, but according to Keynesians, wage increases lag prices. Reductions in real wages, in other words, enable firms to hire more workers so as to increase the production of goods and services.

Thus, according to Keynesians, situations of "excessive" unemployment could be cured by appropriate fiscal policies. Indeed, unemployment is typically considered by Keynesians to indicate a market failure. That is to say, the existence of unemployment is generally viewed as a sign that market forces are incapable of enabling everyone who wishes to work at the prevailing wage to obtain employment. To deal with such a situation, of "involuntary" unemployment, government intervention in the form of increased government spending and/or reduced taxes is both necessary and appropriate.

The collection of large amounts of data by the government and the development of electronic computers during the 1940s and 1950s afforded ample opportunity to estimate various macroeconomic models based upon Keynesian notions of how the economy operates. These models were generally interpreted as supporting Keynesian views regarding the impact of fiscal policies—tax and spending changes—on economic growth and unemployment. Beginning in the 1960s, therefore, it was only natural that many economists encouraged the federal government to pursue activist fiscal policies to stabilize the economy. To reduce unemployment it was believed by many that all the governmnt had to do was simply implement stimulative "demand-side" policies.

To be sure, any additional government spending to stimulate the economy would have to be financed. Although taxes could be raised to generate the necessary revenues to match the additional government spending without stifling economic activity (because of the presumed positive balanced-budget multiplier), such an action was considered to be politically unpopular, time-consuming, and somewhat counter-productive. But if taxes were not increased, the resulting budgetary deficit would have to be money- and/or bond-financed. Of these two ways to finance deficits, if the government were to sell bonds, interest rates would rise and "crowding out" would occur. That is, the sale of Treasury securities would compete with the sale of private securities, resulting in some crowding out of the latter. Such crowding out would lead to less investment

by firms in productive plant and equipment, as private security sales were curtailed by higher interest rates.

Although many Keynesians were willing to acknowledge that crowding out could occur and thus lessen the expansionary impact of a stimulative fiscal policy, they did not generally believe that private investment would fail by enough to completely negate the effect of increased government spending and/or reduced taxes. Moeover, it was argued that the Federal Reserve could prevent or at least moderate any crowding out by monetizing the deficit, that is, by expanding the money supply to finance budetary deficits. In this way, Keynesians contended that interests rates could be kept from rising, or at least from rising as much, ans thus from seriously restricting investment.

Thus throughout the second half of the 1960s and all of the 1970s, government spending tended to increase (notony absolutely but as a share of GNP) and federal deficits mushroomed (both absolutely and as a share of GNP) as attempts were made to promote economic growth and reduce the unemployment rate. As deficits increased, so did the growth in the money supply. However, interest rates tended to rise on average during the past fifteen years even though the growing federal deficits were accompanied by higher rates of growth in the money supply. The reason is now well known. Faster money growth leads to a higher rate of inflation. As the inflation rate rises, an inflation premium is incorporated into the nominal or market rate of interest. An increase in money growth may therefore lead to higher, not lower rates of interest.

Disenchantment with traditional Keynesian aggregate demand policies began to grow during the 1970s. The existence of "stagflation"—both rising rates of inflation and unemployment—posed a serious challenge to conventional approaches to economic policy. As the federal budget deficit ballooned, the economy did not grow faster nor did the unemployment rate decline. Indeed, output growth was sluggish and labor productivity was trending downwards. Worse yet, all of this was happening while the inflation rate was rising. Keynesian-oriented macro-economic models, previously considered by many to be quite successful at forecasting economic developments, began to produce sizable errors and increasingly had to be "corrected" in an *ad hoc* manner as they failed to capture the new economic events.

In summary, the traditional Keynesian activist policies aimed at stabilizing the economy were considered by many to be unsuccessful in the 1970s. It is no surprise, therefore, that other views of how the economy operates began receiving more attention, including supply-side economics.

III. *Supply-Side Economics*

The cornerstone of supply-side economics is a reduction in the marginal tax rate—the tax collected per each *additional* dollar of income.[2]

The marginal tax rate is important because it is at the margin where decisions to work or to save more or less are made and because individuals and firms are assumed to base their decisions on the amount of extra income they may keep after taxes. By reducing marginal tax rates, the after-tax rewards to working, saving, and investing are increased, thereby providing the necessary incentives for individuals to supply more labor and business firms to expand their productive plant and equipment. Increased labor supply will lead to higher employment and thus greater output, while increased investment will enhance labor productivity. The funds necessary to support the additional investment will come from the increased saving due to a higher after-tax return to saving.

Additional support for reductions in marginal tax rates is based upon the fact that the interaction between inflation and the U.S. tax system has resulted in significant increases in real marginal tax rates. Because tax rates have not yet been inflation-adjusted, higher rates of inflation push people into higher tax brackets, resulting in so-called bracket creep.[3] Moreover, long-standing accounting practices for tax treatment of inventories, depreciation, and capital gains may have resulted in an overstatement of true taxable income.

The traditional Keynesian and supply-side perspectives differ sharply in the way each views the impact of tax cuts. A Keynesian would argue that tax cuts stimulate aggregate demand and therefore are likely to be inflationary. In contrast, a supply-sider would content that reducing taxes by cutting marginal tax rates will first and foremost stimulate aggregate supply, not aggregate demand. Increased aggregate supply is consistent with a lower rate of inflation.[4] Hence, appropriately structured tax cuts need not fuel inflation.

Thus, according to the supply-side approach, the best way to reduce unemployment and to stimulate economic growth is to cut marginal tax rates. Any reduction in unemployment and/or increase in economic growth resulting from such tax rate reductions need not be inflationary according to the supply-side scenario. Moreover, to stimulate the economy it would not be desirable to accompany tax cuts with increased government spending. Such increased spending might increase aggregate demand, and thus prices, but would not actually provide the necessary incentive for people to work and to save more. Indeed, some government spending, such as unemployment compensation, may actually provide disincentive effects. Other government spending might simply replace private spending, but less efficiently so.[5] However, the necessary incentives for greater employment, saving, and investment would be created by tax rate reductions.

Any reduction in tax rates would, at least initially, reduce total tax collections and thus increase the federal deficit. One way to reduce, if not eliminate, such increased deficits would be to reduce government spending by an appropriate amount. Supply-siders, however, do not rely upon this device entirely. Instead, they contend that lower tax rates, by increasing

the returns to saving and to work, will generate more saving and greater output. With more saving, government deficits can be bond-financed rather than money-financed so as not to drive up the rate of inflation. (To the extent that government bonds are sold abroad, the amount of domestic saving required to finance the deficit would decline accordingly.) Increased saving, moreover, will be sufficient not only to finance government spending but also private investment spending, which is necessary for improvements in labor productivity. Some supply-side economists have also argued that greater output growth may lead to higher *revenues* even though tax *rates* are lower. This would occur if the U.S. economy were operating at a point on the "Laffer Curve" where tax disincentive effects are quite severe. If so, cuts in marginal tax rates could pay for themselves through greater output and thus greater tax revenues.

In summary, supply-side economics departs radically from traditional Keynesian economics by emphasizing that tax cuts first and foremost stimulate supply rather than demand. Supply-side economists contend that cutting marginal tax rates provides increased incentives for people to seek and produce wealth. This is believed to be the key to increases in long-run economic growth and labor productivity. Notice that supply-siders would not recommend increasing taxes to deal with a rising inflation rate since higher taxes tend to discourage productive activity, thereby reducing economic growth and actually exacerbating inflation. This means that tax cuts are not viewed as a tool for activist policies of demand stabilization, but rather as a means of providing adequate and stable incentives to both individuals and firms to promote longer-term economic growth and stability.

IV. *Political Claims*

All presidential administrations have had a proclivity for claiming that sizeable economic gains will be achieved during their terms. Thus oen should not expect a new Administration to provide a gloomy economic forecast. It is instead common to predict large gains in economic growth and considerable progress in controlling inflation. Often such campaign promises play an important role in bringing a new Administration into office. A quick disavowal of campaign promises would not be politically prudent nor would it generate high scores in public opinion polls.

President Reagan's claim in January of 1981 that the economy would display rapid growth and a falling inflation rate during each and every year of the entire 1981-86 period is, therefore, not surprising. One may wish to differentiate between reasonable and exaggerated claims. But such an exercise would miss the main point. When taking office, presidents are prone to making economic claims, whether justified or not. This means that one must be careful when judging the merits of the economic point of view that serves as the rationale for an Administration's economic program. Whether political claims turn out to be correct is not the best

criterion for judging the underlying economic framework for a program. This means that the severe recession that began in July of 1981 does not necessarily imply that supply-side economics is oversimplified and without merit even though the events have proven the early part of President Reagan's economic forecast to be wrong. Before such a conclusion is warranted, a much more careful evaluation must take place. In particular it must be realized that policies are not forecasts. Exaggerated political claims may just as easily be based on bad as on good economic policies.

V. *Economic Reality*

Supply-side economics depends upon a number of key assumptions. These assumptions center on "substitution effects" being greater than "income effects." To illustrate exactly what this means, consider the decisions regarding how much labor to supply. If the marginal tax rate on personal income is cut, then the after-tax return to work rises. The increase in after-tax wages should induce individuals to devote more time to work and less to leisure. In other words, higher after-tax wage rates should lead to a substitution of work for leisure. A potentially offsetting factor, however, is the income effect. This refers to the fact that since after-tax wages are higher, the individuals can earn the same, or even higher, income by working less. If this "income effect" is greater than the "substitution effect," then higher after-tax wages may induce people to work less, not more. In this case, cutting taxes will not directly increase employment and thus output.

The empirical evidence that is currently available is mixed. That is to say, studies of labor supply do not reveal that substitution effects clearly outweigh income effects. For some types of workers—namely secondary workers—this may be the case. But generally it appears that the two effects are offsetting or that there is a modest increase in labor supply due to higher after-tax wage rates.

There is a similar ambiguity concerning the impact of after-tax rates of return on saving. Cutting the marginal tax rate increases the after-tax return to saving. This increases the reward to saving, but also reduces the "need" to save because each dollar of saving will provide the saver with more after-tax future consumption. The former effect is analogous to the "substitution effect" in the labor supply example, the latter to the "income effect." Whether lowering the marginal tax rate will encourage greater saving depends on whether the substitution effect—which leads to more saving—is stronger than the income effect—which reduces saving. Until very recently empirical evidence on this issue was also mixed. However, the most recent evidence seems to demonstrate that the substitution effect is stronger than the income effect. Thus, there is some basis for believing that cutting marginal tax rates on personal income will stimulate saving. However, it remains to be seen whether the increased saving that is expected to result from marginal rate cuts will be sufficient to permit

larger federal deficits to be financed without crowding-out. This latter point is of considerable importance since substantial crowding-out would offset the impact of those supply-side tax cuts which are intended to spur private investment, and ultimately reverse the decline in U.S. labor productivity.

Thus, the key element in supply-side economics—tax rate cuts—may not have the predicted effect upon economic growth and labor productivity. Both theoretical and empirical evidence fails to unambiguously support the supply-side propositions, although this is tempered by recent empirical studies which are supportive of at least some supply-side premises. This does not, of course, imply that supply-side predictions will not ultimately be proven correct, or that supply-side policies are inappropriate. After all, conventional Keynesian economic policies have not cured our employment and inflation problems. Stagflation existed in the absence of supply-side policies, when Keynesian prescriptions were generously being offered and implemented.

In addition, one must take into account the magnitude and timing of the tax cuts as well as the time period over which tax cuts can be expected to produce any desirable results. With respect to magnitudes, the congress has cut personal tax rates by 23 percentage points. However, these cuts are spread over three years, with the first cut being 5 percentage points and taking effect on October 1, 1981. The second cut is for 10 percentage points and occurs on July 1, 1982, and the third cut is for an additional 8 percentage points and occurs on July 1, 1983. These annual cuts may not be deemed large enough by some supply-siders, especially in view of the fact that security taxes rose on January 1, 1982, and some state and local governments are in the process of raising or have already raised their taxes. Some supply-siders may also view the tax cuts as coming into effect too late to have an early impact on the economy.

The impact of the tax cuts is also likely to take time to be realized. Years may elapse between the time when one decides to invest in productive plant and equipment and when these investments actually produce goods and services. It has taken years for current adverse economic trends to develop and it will likewise take time to reverse such trends. Supply-side economics may best be viewed as a longer-term approach to dealing with economic problems. Quick fixes should not properly be viewed as part of the analytical basis for the supply-side approach, but rather as a part of the political rhetoric.[6]

Thus, there are valid theoretical and empirical reasons for questioning whether cuts in marginal tax rates will indeed stimulate employment, saving, and investment, at least enough to have a noticeable impact on economic growth and labor productivity. However, there is also ample justification for supporting the supply-side approach to economics. After all, the Keynesian alternative has not proven to be successful. More importantly, the size and scope of government has increased tremendously

during the post-World War II period. Taxes hve escalated for all income levels as inflation has pushed people into higher tax brackets, an action not legislated but producing additonal revenue and spending anyway. Reductions in marginal tax rates, or at least an attempt to keep them from rising as fast and to as high a level, may prove to be more beneficial than some critics have claim, especially over the longer-term. Permanent tax reductions, however, require that government spending must also be sufficiently slowed so that what the government spends matches what it takes in, not each and every year, since there may be wars and unexpected recessions and boom periods, but certainly over a period of years.

VI. *The Role of Monetary Policy*

It is now well known and widely admitted that money growth has an important impact on the growth in nominal income. For this reason, the relationship of monetary policy to supply-side economics merits special treatment. According to the Reagan program for economic recovery, the growth in money should be steadily decreased to a slow and steady rate. In this way, it is believed that inflation can be reduced, as well as nominal interest rates, since they contain an inflation premium based upon the expectation of future inflation. However, there is some concern that the public is not convinced that the Federal Reserve can or will permanently reduce the inflation rate to an acceptable level. If this is the case, then one should not expect long-term interest rates to show much, if any, downward movement. This also means that declining short-term rates of interest are likely to be followed by rising short-term rates in the future. In any event, what happens to the inflation rate and, perhaps to a slightly lesser degree, short-term interest rates depends upon money growth and thus Federal Reserve policy.

Supply-siders appear to be deeply concerned that the existing monetary mechanisms may be inappropriate for controlling money growth and thus establishing the credibility required to convince the public that inflation will be controlled. The reason is not only that recent U.S. history demonstrates a reluctance or inability to keep money growth at a slow and steady rate, but that there are currently a plethora of money substitutes. Financial innovations seem to be continuously forcing newer and different measures of the money stock. In such a situation it is difficult to know which measure of money is most appropriate to monitor and to control as well as to know how long it will be before a still newer measure will render all earlier measures less useful. Additionally, there continue to be gyrations in money growth rate measures, which tend to undermine the Administration's policy of a "steady" rate of growth.

For these reasons, supply-siders are urging a return to a gold standard. The view is that only in this way can price stability be finally assured. This is considered to be a necessary step in restoring public confidence in the dollar. Only then can inflation be controlled and long-term interest rates

be brought down. Certainly the prospect of ballooning budgetary deficits makes gold or some other commodity standard seem quite attractive, for this may help restrain the growth of such deficits. In any event, whether or not a return to the gold standard will do as claimed involves as much speculation as concrete evidence at the current time.

VII. *Summary and Conclusions*

The Reagan program for economic recovery included both federal spending decreases (in terms of a slower rate of increase) and tax cuts. The Congress in August of 1981 approved with some modification both the tax cuts and the spending decreases, at least for fiscal year 1981. Whether additional spending cuts for future fiscal years or whether the tax cuts will remain intact currently is uncertain, even though President Reagan reaffirmed his commitment to his basic program in his State of the Union Message to the Congress in January, 1982. Despite this uncertainty about the future, the fiscal actions that already have taken place represent a dramatic break with the past.

Past and current political claims for the economic policies that have been and are currently being proposed reflect political considerations, not just supply-side economics. For this reason as well as the rather dismal recent record of economic forecasts, it is perhaps understandable that the Reagan Administration has been reluctant to accept any concensus forecast, particularly a forecast that reflects traditional Keynesian views and is highly pessimistic. This means that one should not completely evaluate supply-side economics on the basis of the accuracy of shorter-term forecasts made by the Reagan Administration or, for that matter, any administration. If such a criterion were applied across the board to all economic views that purportedly underlie economic forecasts, there would undoubtedly be high turnover among the "correct" views of how the economy operates. One must always be careful not to focus on the shorter-term to the extent that the longer-term is ignored. What might appear to be bad economic policies in the short-run may turn out to produce long-run benefits. Certainly, if nothing else, past experience has demonstrated that "stop-go" policies based upon active government intervention in the market place with fiscal and monetary tools have not succeeded in smoothing, yet alone eliminating the business cycle.

Supply-side economics does represent a break with the past, but only the more recent past.[7] Furthermore, regardless of the political claims made on its behalf, there is considerable truth in the view that supply-side economics represents an improvement over conventional Keynesian economics. Business cycles still exist and indeed appear to have gotten worse despite the best efforts made at stabilizing the economy by manipulating fiscal and monetary policies along Keynesian lines. Perhaps the time has come to admit that not enough is currently known to be able to fine-tune the economy. In such a situation, more stable rules governing

economic policies may be appropriate as well as a continuation of the reversal that has begun in the share of resources absorbed by the government.

The size of the federal budget deficit in the coming years could have an important impact on the economy. If the deficit as a percentage of GNP rises and continues to rise after the economy has recovered from the 1981-82 recession, there is a serious possibility of crowding-out due to higher interest rates. Such crowding-out could offset the impact of those supply-side tax cuts intended to stimulate private investment. In such an event, the President and the Congress face the prospect of taking actions to reduce the deficit. If the deficit is to be reduced by further cuts in government spending, an important issue is how to make such additional cuts in an efficient and equitable manner. If sufficient cuts cannot be enacted, consideration will have to be given to increasing tax revenues, either by enacting explicit tax increases, or by delaying or even repealing some of the tax cuts enacted in 1981.

Notes

[1]Of course, many contended that the tight monetary policies pursued by the Federal Reserve were responsible for the declining inflation as well as the rising unemployment. Administration policies, however, fully concurred with the restrictive Federal Reserve policy. For this reason as well as the fact that the Federal Reserve usually attempts to accommodate fiscal policy, it seems reasonable to include the tight monetary policy that was pursued as part of the Reagan economic program (see Barth (1981a) and Barth, Sickles, and Wiest (1982b)).

[2]For a more detailed discussion of supply-side economics and the Reagan economic program, see Barth (1981a and b) and Keleher (1981 and 1982).

[3]Indexation of personal income taxes takes effect beginning January 1, 1985.

[4]One must distinguish between a once-and-for-all decline in the price level and a decline in the inflation rate. Tax rate reductions phased in over several years are apparently considered by supply-siders to be sufficient to lead to reduced inflation, and presumably a reduction that will be permanent.

[5]See also Barth and Cordes (1980).

[6]Some statements give the opposite impression, however. Feldstein (1980), for example, stated before Ronald Reagan was ever elected President that "... what is really needed is a multi-year program of tax cuts that will reduce some of the existing strong disincentives to capital formation and production. And if it is done in the right way, a multi-year tax cut could bring immediate increases in investment, saving, and individual effort without any increases in the government deficit now or in the future."

[7]For an interesting discussion of the historical origins of supply-side economics, see Keleher, (1982).

References

Barth, James R., "The Reagan Program for Economic Recovery: Economic Rationale," (A Primer on Supply-Side Economics), *Economic Review*, Federal

Reserve Bank of Atlanta, September 1981a.

Barth, James R., "The Reagan Program for Economic Recovery: An Historical Perspective," *Economic Review*, Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, October 1981b.

Barth, James R., "The costs of Slowing Inflation: Four Views," *Economic Review*, Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, January 1982a.

Barth, James R. and Cordes, Joseph J., "Substitutability, Complementarity, and the Impact of Government Spending on Economic Activity," *Journal of Economics and Business*, Spring/Summer 1980, pp. 235-242.

Barth, James R., Sickle, Robin and Weist, Philip, "Assessing the Impact of Varying Economic Conditions and Federal Reserve Behavior," *Journal of Macroeconomics*, Winter 1982b.

Feldstein, Martin, "Tax Incentives Without Deficits," *The Wall Street Journal*, July 25, 1980.

Keleher, Robert E., "Supply-Side Tax Policy: Reviewing the Evidence," *Economic Review*, Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, April 1981.

Keleher, Robert E., "Historical Origins of Supply-Side Economics," *Economic Review*, Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, January 1982.

Swamy, P.A.V.B., Barth, James R., and Tinsley, Peter A., "The Rational Expectations Approach to Economic Modelling," Special Studies Paper No. 143, Federal Reserve Board, July 1980 and forthcoming in the *Journal of Economic Dynamics and Control*.

SUPPLY-SIDE ECONOMICS AND THE ECONOMIC RECOVERY TAX ACT OF 1981

George R. Iden*

Supply-side economics has an important contribution to make to economic policy formulation, but it entails a number of risks. Supply-side economics calls attention to the importance of economic incentives, the adverse side-effects of government actions; and, in general, its proponents advocate the primacy of the goals of economic efficiency and growth. However, it may claim too much, thus influencing the political debate unfairly and perhaps detrimentally. The inflated claims of supply-siders may be one reason that prospective federal deficits are so large, as a result of the size of the 1981 tax reductions. These deficits could undermine the effectiveness of the supply-side tax cuts, at least for the next half-decade. In addition, there are other economic and social goals that are potentially in conflict with the primary goals of proponents of supply-side economics. An equitable distribution of income and of economic opportunity and an enlightened social policy toward society's less fortunate need to be weighed in considering the merits of supply-side prescriptions.

The contributions and limitations of supply-side economics are illustrated by the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981, which radically changed the direction of U.S. tax policy. The Tax Act had a supply-side rationale. The tax reductions were designed to encourage work, saving, and especially business investment. But in the process, the loss of tax revenue was so great as to make it extremely difficult to finance traditional governmental functions. Unless the size of the prospective deficits is substantially reduced, the success of the program may be threatened. In addition, some of the provisions seem likely to be both costly in lost revenue and ineffective as supply-side measures. Finally, because the Tax Act cut the taxes of high income people much more than for middle- and low-income people, and because some of its features are hard to justify on grounds of efficiency, it could undermine the perceived fairness of the tax system.

It is difficult to define precisely what is meant by "supply-side economics" since supply has always been an important topic in economics. In a sense, supply-side economics is a school of thought that emphasizes not only the importance and social value of economic incentives and the

---

**The views expressed in this paper are the author's and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Congressional Budget Office or its staff. The author wishes to thank Mechita Crawford for typing the manuscript.*

efficacy of market solutions—many, perhaps most, economists do,—but it holds extreme views on the subject. A critical difference between supply-side and traditional economics is in the perceptions of the role of government. Supply-siders almost invariably argue that the solution to the nation's major economic problems lies in less government and in sharpened market incentives.

This paper discusses the background for the Economic Recovery Tax Act, focusing on its supply-side rationale. The major provisions of the Tax Act for individuals and for businesses are summarized and critiqued. Next, the tax reductions are discussed in terms of wider budget issues and national goals. The last section provides a summary and concluding comments.

The Economic Problems: Lagging Productivity and Inflation

The tax legislation of 1981 has "economic recovery" in the title because it was designed to deal with one of the major economic problems facing the nation: lagging productivity growth. Productivity growth is important because it provides the basis for improvements in living standards and for carrying out national purposes such as defense, social security, and the promotion of economic opportunity. In the public sector, the productivity slowdown meant that it became increasingly difficult to pay for defense and social services that had been set in law or established in the public mind in an era of more rapid economic growth. Stagflation, or the condition of inflation and slow economic growth, made the situation worse.

The data in Table 1 show how much productivity growth slowed in the U.S. in the second-half of the postwar period. Growth in productivity—that is, goods and services produced per hour of work—slowed between 1965 and 1973 and slowed dramatically from 1973 to the present. However, the U.S. was not alone in experiencing a productivity slowdown. Every industrialized nation experienced a slowdown in productivity growth—some much more than the U.S. The fact that the productivity slowdown is a worldwide phenomenon is an important fact in seeking explanations for the slow-down and in seeking prescriptions for its remedy. It calls into question whether taxes are really at the root of the productivity problem and whether a reduction in marginal tax rates will be enough to cause a major improvement in the productivity growth trend.

TABLE 1. GROWTH IN OUTPUT PER HOUR OF LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES, SELECTED PERIODS, 1947 to 1981
(Average annual percent changes)

	Private Business Sector	Nonfarm Private Business Sector	Manufacturing Sector
1947-1965	3.3	2.7	3.2
1965-1973	2.4	2.1	2.8
1973-1978	1.1	0.9	1.6
1978-1979	-0.4	-0.7	1.1
1979-1980	-0.2	-0.3	-0.4
1980-1981	1.1 *a/*	0.8 *a/*	2.7 *a/*

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

a/ Data for 1981 are preliminary.

Some of the causes of the productivity slowdown are generally recognized although there is disagreement about their precise role. The proximate causes include the drastic increases in energy prices, the influx of large numbers of inexperienced workers associated with the baby-boom of the 1950's, rapid growth in the labor force, government regulation, and the slowing of the farm to non-farm shift in employment. The amount of capital per worker also grew less rapidly as did spending on research and development. However, a significant part of the slowdown—perhaps as much as one-half—has not been explained satisfactorily. In addition, the above factors tend to be proximate rather than ultimate or fundamental causes. Investment and technical change slowed, but what caused them to slow? Was it inflation? The energy shock? Government regulation? Or, a lack of major new innovations? Specifically, was it because of the tax system?

It is generally agreed that the interaction between the tax system and inflation tended to increase marginal tax rates, particularly on property income, and especially on the income from business plant and equipment. One main reason is that businesses were allowed to deduct only historical depreciation and not the replacement cost of worn out capital, and this discrepancy grows larger with the pace of inflation. A second reason is that the tax system favored investment in residential housing, land, minerals and art compared with investment in business plant and equipment. This bias also became larger as inflation accelerated. Still another way that the tax system is biased during inflationary periods is in the treatment of interest income. Interest income is fully taxable even though much of it in recent years represents a premium for inflation and is not actually income. At the same time, interest is fully deductible for businesses

and households that itemize. Thus, the tax treatment of interest encourages debt financing by businesses and households and it encourages an attitude of buying now rather than later among consumers.

Inflation also pushed people into higher income tax brackets. From time to time, "tax reductions" were enacted during the 1970's which prevented average income tax rates from increasing very substantially until the end of the 1970's. But marginal income tax rates for the majority of taxpayers rose significantly between the mid-1960's and 1980 because the rate structure of the tax system was not changed, even though exemptions and deductions were liberalized. Moreover, increases in state income taxes and in federal social security taxes added to cumulative marginal tax rates and to the burden of the overall tax system.

Two special factors may have helped to reduce the disincentive effects of the tax system on work that might otherwise have been more pronounced. First, effective tax rates tend to be much lower than statutory rates. There are various ways for a person to reduce his taxes, such as by incurring more deductions. Thus, if someone's income rises substantially, it may be to his advantage to take out a larger loan on a larger house, give more to the church, buy his car with a loan while at the same time buy tax-free municipal bonds and invest in real estate to get the depreciation write-offs. (Such tax-motivated actions, however, may have social costs to the extent that they reduce saving and distort investments.) The second factor is that in 1969 the maximum tax rate on income from work was reduced to 50 percent from 70 percent.

There are also several reasons why the tax disincentives for saving and investment were not more pronounced. Some forms of saving were tax sheltered, such as pensions. Also, people who otherwise might be in very high tax brackets could form one or more small corporations which are taxed at lower rates, or they could seek to convert ordinary income into capital gains which also are taxed at differentially low rates. As to corporate investment in plant and equipment, the investment tax credit, accelerated depreciation, and the deductability of interest helped to offset—and in some periods more than offset—the bias inherent in historical depreciation.

These facts about the tax system and its interactions with inflation are basically not in dispute. There was a growing consensus that something needed to be done to rationalize the tax system. In addition, more and more people came to feel over-taxed, as it became commonplace for working couples of quite modest means to face marginal tax rates of 30 or 40 percent or more (including federal income and social security taxes and state income taxes). Also, more and more business people came to feel that higher taxes and mounting government regulations ranked high on their list of obstacles. But it is highly questionable whether increases in marginal tax rates (and government regulation) and distortions introduced by the tax system were the predominant cause of the productivity slowdown.

For one thing, as previously mentioned, the productivity slowdown was a world-wide phenomenon. For another, marginal tax rates are much higher in some of the countries of Western Europe that have had enviable productivity records. Also, in the U.S., effective marginal tax rates tend to be substantially below statutory rates as many individuals and businesses take advantage of various deductions, tax incentives, and tax shelters. Finally, there is no economic research that convincingly demonstrates that the productivity slowdown in the U.S. was primarily due to the tax system.

Enter Supply-Side Economics

The extreme supply-side advocates offered both a diagnosis and a prescribed cure for stagflation. In their view, the problem was government — high marginal tax rates, excessive government regulation, and excessive social welfarism—and the solution was simple: cut marginal tax rates, reduce government transfers to persons, and reduce government regulations (also, pursue a monetary policy of slow steady growth in the money supply). The basic assumption was that government was at the root of the problem and that increased incentives through the tax system and less burdensome government regulations could solve it.

A principal tenet of the supply-sides is that taxes had become so high that they were drastically interfering with incentives to work and to save, notwithstanding the lack of evidence. Some advocates believed that reducing tax rates substantially and across-the-board would actually increase tax revenues because of large supply-side effects. However, if the supply-side effects were not so large as to increase tax receipts, a potential conflict was evident: Either the federal deficit would become large which could crowd out saving and investment, or the functions of government would need to be curtailed substantially to bring down the deficit.

Unfortunately, there is little evidence to support such a rosy view of the results of reducing marginal tax rates. Research in labor economics suggests that the labor supply of adult males is not very sensitive to changes in marginal tax rates, but that the labor supply of married women is. On balance, it does not suggest that the supply effects would be large enough for revenues to increase if tax rates were cut. In addition, the high unemployment rates that have characterized the last decade contradict the notion that people aren't willing to work for current after-tax wage rates. In short, there is no evidence that the stagflation problem results from insufficient incentives to induce people to work and to work hard.

The more interesting question pertains to the effect of changes in marginal tax rates on saving and investment. It is uncertain whether the aggregate supply of saving is very responsive to changes in marginal tax rates. But there is evidence to suggest tht allocation of saving and

investment among different uses is sensitive to relative rates of return which can be affected by the tax system. Thus, it may be very difficult to induce people to save a larger proportion of their incomes but it should be feasible to channel a larger share of capital formation into business plant and equipment which boosts productivity, and a lesser proportion into other kinds of investments such as housing and consumer durable goods.

In addition, the extreme version of supply-side economics offered some unconventional, and probably wrong, macroeconomic theories about economic stabilization that could lead to serious errors in economic policy—not to mention hardship for individuals. One of these ideas is that cutting government spending won't depress the economy even temporarily because lower government spending frees resources for private sector uses. That may be true in the longer-run, but most available evidence suggests that it is not true over a horizon of one or two years.

Another unconventional supply-side idea which is suspect is that a deficit is nothing to worry about if it is produced by a "supply-side" tax cut. In one sense, that may be tautologically correct. It is just that no one has seen such a pure "supply-side tax cut." If marginal taxes are cut, some considerable portion of the added income will likely be consumed even by very high income taxpayers. In addition, some revenue is lost for strictly political reasons that have little to do with stimulating supply. Thus, at present, there is a very real question whether the large prospective deficits caused by the Tax Act of 1981 will crowd out the very saving and investment that the Act was designed to encourage.

Finally, supply-sides have a very narrow view of the appropriate role of government, even in pursuing the goal of economic growth. A strong case can be made for an active government role in situations where the market can not be expected to function adequately. Education, training, labor market information, and research and development are classic cases in which market failures tend to occur. Thus, several industrialized countries spend a larger share of their resources, including their government resources, on non-defense R&D than does the U.S. In promoting economic growth, most industrial countries stress investment in human capital as much as, if not more than, investment in plant and equipment.

The Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981

The Economic Recovery Tax Act introduced very large tax cuts for both businesses and individuals, phased in over a period of several years. Compared with prior tax law, the cumulative reduction in revenues is roughly $750 billion over the period fiscal years 1981 through 1986 (see Table 2). The 1981 Tax Act departed from previous patterns of tax changes by focusing on reductions in marginal tax rates, on saving

incentives and on investment incentives. In addition, it introduced indexing into the personal tax system—a major step that received relatively little deliberation. Finally, the Tax Act of 1981 departed from previous major tax cuts after 1964 by concentrating much more of the reductions on higher income taxpayers.

Business Tax Cuts. The major tax provisions for business included:

- Investment incentives—The Accelerated Cost Recovery System and some increases in investment tax credits;
- Tax credits for spending on research and development;
- Leasing provisions that made it possible for many businesses to sell their unused tax breaks.

The most important change in business taxes was the Accelerated Cost Recovery System (ACR). Earlier, businesses were required to depreciate equipment and structures over a period of time that roughly corresponded to their economic lives. The ACRS drastically shortened and simplified tax lives. The approach taken was to establish only a few classes of tax lives—either 3 or 5 years for most equipment and 15 years for most structures. In addition, a full investment tax credit of 10 percent was permitted on equipment in the 5 year class, whereas before, the tax credit was reduced for equipment with a tax life of less than 7 years.

The ACRS approach should stimulate business investment, but it has two major shortcomings. First, it may distort the allocation of investment among different types of assets. The reason is that the tax reductions from ACRS are not designed to have an even effect among different types of investments, in part, because the tax life classification bears little relation to economic lives. Under the ACRS, the government effectively subsidizes some types of investments. That is, a negative tax is paid. While for other projects, the effective tax rate is still substantial. The economic significance of this is that it tends to distort investment and reduce its contribution to productivity growth. The second shortcoming is that the incentive to invest from ACRS depends on the rate of inflation. The incentive to invest becomes much larger at low-rates of inflation than at high rates. Thus, if the nation is successful in bringing down the rate of inflation to near zero, the tax benefits to business will be greatly enhanced under ACRS.

In another major departure, the Tax Act liberalized capital leasing provisions for businesses. The net result is that businesses, that are losing money or are unable to take full advantage of the rapid depreciation and investment tax credits, are permitted to sell their tax breaks to more profitable businesses. Something like the leasing arrangement was needed because otherwise the incentive to invest would be much greater for profitable than for less profitable firms. That would be both inefficient and unfair. However, a simpler way that has been proposed before would be to make unused tax credits directly refundable.

Table 2.—Summary of Estimated Revenue Effects of the Economic Recovery Act of 1981 (H.R. 4242), Fiscal Years 1981-1986

(In millions of dollars)

Provision	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Title I.—Individual income tax provisions	−39	−26,947	−71,112	−114,700	−148,254	−196,162
Title II.—Business incentive provisions	−1,563	−10,727	−18,746	−28,436	−39,448	−54,665
Title III.—Savings provisions		−247	−1,797	−4,207	−5,629	−8,485
Title IV.—Estate and gift tax provisions		−204	−2,114	−3,218	−4,248	−5,568
Title V.—Tax straddles	37	623	327	273	249	229
Title VI.—Energy provisions		−1,320	-1,742	−2,242	−2,837	−3,619
Title VII.—Administrative provisions		1,182	2,048	1,856	718	592
Title VIII.—Miscellaneous provisions		−16	404	711	247	−64
Total Revenue Effect	−1,565	−37,656	−92,732	−149,693	−199,202	−267,742

Source: *General Explanation of the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981,* Staff of the Joint Committee on Taxation, U.S. Congress, (Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.) 1981, p. 380.

The leasing approach to this problem has been criticized on several grounds. First, the most profitable businesses gain in two ways: by tax breaks on their own investments and by tax breaks on investments by unprofitable businesses. Second, it is difficult to predict whether small businesses will be able to participate effectively in this sophisticated trading game. Third, the legal and financial complications in all this are virtually spawning a new industry to deal with the red tape. Last, the leasing provision may prove to be much more expensive in lost revenue to the Treasury than originally estimated.

Individual Tax Cuts. The major provisions of the 1981 Tax Act that pertain to individual taxes include:

- Reduction in the maximum rate on nonlabor income from 70 percent to 50 percent, effective January 1, 1982; this also lowered the maximum tax rate on capital gains from 28 percent to 20 percent;
- Across-the-board reductions of 23 percent in marginal tax rates, phased in, in three installments (5 percent on October 1, 1981, 10 percent on July 1, 1982, and another 8 percent on July 1, 1983);
- Indexing of income tax rates, the zero bracket amount, and the personal exemption for changes in the Consumer Price Index, beginning January 1, 1985;
- Specific incentives for saving, including: IRA's of up to $2,000 a year for individual workers already covered by a retirement plan, $4,000 for a married couple (both with earnings) and the so-called "all-savers certificates;"
- Reductions in the marriage penalty through a deduction for the spouse with the lower earnings;
- Reductions in estate taxes phased in over several years. By 1986, only 0.3 percent of estates are expected to owe any tax; substantial rate cuts were also added for the 0.3 percent that do owe estate taxes.

The 1981 Tax Act also contained a number of special tax cuts that involved substantial loss in tax receipts and yet are difficult to rationalize in terms of supply-side economics. For example, the exemption level was raised under the windfall profits tax for "small" producers of oil. That may stimulate slightly more drilling for oil but probably not much. Similarly, the all-savers certificates may help to keep savings and loan businesses from going bankrupt, but few observers expect them to have much effect on the overall saving rate. The cuts in estate taxes may (or may not) encourage saving, but their cost in lower receipts to the Treasury is estimated at $5.6 billion for 1986. The main effect of such special tax measures in the 1981 Act is to redistribute income and tax liabilities—not to enhance supply.

The 1981 Tax Act was much more beneficial to upper-middle and upper-income groups than to middle- and lower-income groups. It opened many new possibilities for reducing taxes. But there is one overriding theme: One needs either a high income or substantial assets to benefit very much. Also, it could be treacherous to get too involved with tax sheltering income without expert advice which does not come cheap. Indeed, one of sure beneficiaries of the Tax Act are tax consultants, tax lawyers, and tax accountants.

A working couple with, say, $100,000 in annual income might be interested in the following provisions of the 1981 Tax Act:

- Two IRAs to shelter $4,000 per year;
- All-savers certificates to earn up to $2,000 annually tax free;
- Some stocks in utility companies to take advantage of a provision to convert dividend income into deferred capital gains
- A condominium to take advantage of accelerated depreciation over a 15 year period; or perhaps a more exotic investment in oil and gas exploration (some experts advice would probably be needed).

There were other benefits for this couple, too. If they had property income, the maximum income tax rate fell to 50 percent, beginning in 1982. They could transfer up to $10,000 annually to each child without any worry about gift taxes (before, the limit was $3,000). In addition, they could expect to leave up to $600,000 to their children without any federal estate taxes and the first spouse to die could leave unlimited wealth to the other partner with no estate tax whatever.

The benefits for the really wealthy were proportionately even greater, with the cut in maximum income tax rate to 50 percent from 70 percent all at once (on January 1, 1982) and substantial reductions in estate taxes. Also, wealthy individuals participated in the benefits of lower business taxes through ownership of corporate stock and real estate. In sum, the well-to-do had much to be thankful for with the passage of the Tax Act of 1981. With good legal and financial advice, there is little reason for them to pay tax rates much in excess of many blue-collar workers. Whether the country at large should be thankful is an open question at this point.

For the ordinary taxpayer, the world of tax shelters poses some risks, which the well-to-do have known about for some time. Just because an investment is tax-shelteed does not necessarily mean that it is a good investment. Also, there are additional risks associated with not being affluent. Many people are likely to need their savings for some emergency or for college expenses, or they could lose their jobs. Thus, tax shelters may not be appropriate for everyone.

One catch from the standpoint of supply-side economics is that many taxpayers can take advantage of all or most of these features and not

save any more, if they have enough assets (or income). The tax shelters could be financed entirely by shifting money from, say, government bonds or a money market fund, or even by going into debt. Also, the net impact on saving may be small if people merely change the form of their saving—putting more of their saving into tax sheltered forms and less into non-sheltered forms.

Another catch is that, for many workers, a combination of inflation induced bracket creep and social security tax increases will completely undo the effects of the 23 percent cut in tax rates from the 1981 Tax Act. This has prompted some individuals to argue that the Tax Act is not a true test for supply-side economics. In any case, no outpouring of extra labor supply will seem justified or likely, although the rate "cuts" will at least prevent marginal tax rate from rising as much as otherwise.

The 1981 Tax Act and Budget Policy

Supply-side economics, the Tax Act of 1981, and the strategy to reduce federal outlays raises profound issues of budgetary policy, such as the impact of large budget deficits, the role of government and national priorities. It is impossible to assess the implications of the tax reductions or the reductions in government spending without considering what it is that we want government to do. If the nation wants a larger defense, a modern, comprehensive social security system, and income support for the poor, it is going to take subtantial tax receipts to pay for these services.

The revenue loss from the 1981 Tax Act is so large that policymakers now face the prospect of extremely large deficits unless other taxes are raised, government spending is drastically curtailed or some combination. This dilemma was not supposed to occur according to the extreme version of supply-side economics. The tax cuts were to stimulate the economy enough so that the loss in reveue (after feedback) would be negligible. This may yet occur but there are no visible signs that it will.

As a consequence of the large loss of revenue from the 1981 Tax Act, there is now much discussion of the impact of large and growing federal deficits. The consensus among economists is not so much that deficits need to be inflationary but that, in the longer run, large and persistent deficits tend to crowd out saving and investment. The deficit for fiscal year 1982 is not necessarily a problem and may be welcomed to prevent an even worse recession. But the prospect that after 1982, the already large deficit seems likely grow even as the economy recovers is deemed by many people (including most economists) to be a serious threat to the performance of the economy.

One way out of this dilemma would be to cut spending much further. That route is especially difficult, however, if there is to be a substantial buildup in defense spending. It would probably have to involve substantial

further cuts in social programs, substantial cuts in popular social security programs, and even in defense. Already, education and training programs and support for research and development have been cut back substantially—areas that in the past have been thought to contribute to productivity and economic growth.

Of course, the other way to reduce the deficit is to raise taxes. As inferred in the previous discussion, there are a number of ways in which the Tax Act might have been made tighter as a supply-side measure—accomplishing the supply-side benefits for less loss of revenue—and an attempt could be made to raise the benefit to loss of receipts ratio. There are several other possibilities including scaling back the personal tax cut scheduled for 1983 and 1984. An alternative that would permit keeping the reduction in marginal tax rates would be to curtail some of the deductions and exemptions in the tax code, such as interest on consumer loans, interest on home mortgages, and tax-free interest on all savers certificates and on state and local bonds. This latter approach might be supplemented with a "windfall" profits tax on the proceeds from deregulating natural gas and/or an increase in gasoline taxes.

In addition to its implications for the federal deficit, the implications of the Tax Act for equity and efficiency need to be evaluated in terms of the federal budget as a whole. At the same time that the Tax Act was conferring the largest benefits on those with high incomes, the cuts on the outlay side were concentrated on lower-income individuals and the poor. Some of these needs may be picked up by state and local governments, but their ability to do so may be quite constrained. Many states, for exmple, do not permit a deficit and some have instituted restrictions on raising taxes. The private sector, too, seems unlikely to fill the gap.

Some of the cuts in income transfers reduced the incentive to work at the lower end of the income scale because they reduced the share of earnings that could be kept. These changes on the outlay side raised the already high implicit marginal tax rates faced by the economically disadvantaged.

Still another implication of the tax and spending changes is that they may significantly reduce the tendency of the federal budget to stabilize the economy automatically. Indexing the personal tax structure made tax receipts less responsive to fluctuations in income and to the growth of income (that, of course, was one of the purposes of indexing, to make taxes less responsive to inflation and economic growth). In addition, some of the cuts in income transfers reduce the extent to which outlays increase automatically when economic downturns occur.

Concluding Comments

The recent popularity of supply-side economics has called attention to the need to pay heed to economic incentives and to the distortions

produced by the tax system in combination with inflation. Also, it emphasizes that economic efficiency and growth require constant attention. Economic prosperity and growth will not just take care of themselves. Finally, supply-side economics reminds us that there are limitations on what government can accomplish well and that the full costs of government actions may be considerably greater than expected.

Supply-side economics, however, could do a disservice if it caused the nation to expect far too much from supply-side policies and if other economic goals were neglected as a consequence. It is difficult to say how much the exaggerated claims of the extreme supply-sides influenced the passage of tax cuts that transformed the tax structure and that now in combination appear to be much too large.

Unfortunately, supply-side economics offers us no real escape from several very hard choices that involve national priorities and the role of government. Its extreme advocates implied that the benefits from heightened market incentives alone would be large enough not to require any sacrifice in consumption levels and in social programs, but that does not seem to be true. Moreover, frustration with recent economic performance has caused some supply-sides to stress the gold standard as the missing link; but that could be very costly, leading to even higher and more unstable unemployment rates. In brief, the choices which supply-side economics is not able to shield us from involve old tradeoffs between current consumption and government services versus economic growth in the longer run, and between efficiency and equity. The choices also involve deciding on the proper role of government. Can government policies contribute to productivity growth in such areas as research and development, and education and training? Or, should economic growth be left entirely to the private sector and to market forces? How many resources should be devoted to social programs, to the social safety net, and to defense?

REAGANOMICS: MACRO-PERSPECTIVES AND MICRO-EFFECTS

Donald T. Wells

It is difficult to disguise the fact that budgeting is a process in search of a theory. In the public sector, V. O. Key, Jr., was the first to call attention to the absence of budgetary theory and the significance of that fact on the budgetary process. His formulation of the essential question involved in budgeting remains the identification of the crucial need for theory: "On what basis shall it be decided to allocate X dollars to Activity A instead of Activity B?"[1] Many attempts, bearing code names from performance budgeting to zero-base budgeting, have been made to develop a theory which would result in a rational answer to that question. Some of those attempts were widely heralded in both the popular and academic press and a few, e.g. zero-base budgeting, have been integral parts of political campaigns. None of the efforts, however, have resulted in a theory which can adequately explain and guide the process of resource allocation.

The purpose of this article is to examine the latest effort to explain and guide the process of resource allocation in the public sector. The article begins with a review of the general perspective of Reaganomics. How does the macro-perspective of Reaganomics differ from previous ways of viewing the budget and is it a promising beginning toward the development of a valid theory of budgeting? After the examination of the macro-perspective of Reaganomics, an attempt is made to identify the micro-effects of the "first wave" of budget reductions. Who is being affected and in what ways by the allocation decisions involved in Reaganomics?

Macro-Perspective

Reaganomics is a broad term, originally coined in media-parlance primarily for media purposes.[2] Its most frequent reference is to the broad economic program of President Reagan. As defined by the White House, the objectives of the program are to ". . . reduce the burdens of high inflation, high taxation and over regulation . . ." through the techniques of ". . . reductions in personal tax rates and business taxes; spending cuts and other measures to reduce the federal deficit; reductions in the burden and intrusion of Federal regulations; and a new commitment to a stable monetary policy."[3] The proposals relative to taxation and expenditure have direct implications for the budget. The proposals relative to regulations and monetary policy, in so far as they affect general economic conditions

which in turn affect the budget, have indirect implications for the budget. Since the purpose of this paper is to focus on the budget implications of Reaganomics, no attempt will be made to analyze the policies on regulations and money supply.

How do the perspectives of Reaganomics differ from previous ways of viewing the budget and are they a promising beginning toward a viable budget theory?

At the risk of oversimplification, Table 1 presents a comparison of the poliicy prescriptions relative to revenues and expenditures in conditions of inflation and recession as found in both the Keynesian perspective and Reaganomics.[4]

Table 1
A COMPARISON OF THE KEYNESIAN AND REAGANOMICS PRESCRIPTIONS UNDER DIFFERENT ECONOMIC CONDITIONS
(T = taxes, E = expenditures)

	Keynesian		**Reaganomics**	
	Inflation	**Recession**	**Inflation**	**Recession**
Revenue	↑ T	↓ T	↓ T	↓ T
Expenditure	↓ E	↑ E	↓ E	↓ E

As can be seen, there are certain economic conditions in which the prescriptions of Keynesian policy makers and Reaganomics policy makers would be the same. Under certain other economic conditions the prescriptions of the two sets of policy makers would be markedly different.

Keynesian policy and Reaganomics policy converge in terms of expenditures in times of inflation and taxes during periods of recession. The so-called "forgotten part" of Keynesian policy was the argument that, in times of inflation, government should reduce its expenditures. Keynesian policy makers argued that the goverment is the nation's largest consumer of goods and services. Consequently, if there is a demand-pull inflationary tendency in the economy, one of the ways to reduce those inflationary pressures would be to reduce the government's demand for goods and services. Reaganomics policy makers agree that government should reduce expenditures in periods of inflation, but for different reasons. They argue that reduced government expenditures, particularly as the reduction contributes to a lessening of the deficit or ideally a balanced budget, contribute to the "freeing-up" of capital. The increased availability of capital results in increased investments which, in turn, stimulates the supply of goods and services available in the economy. This increased supply means that inflationary pressures are eased and prices stabilize. The same argument is used by both Keynesian and

Reaganomics policy makers in terms of their second point of agreement, namely that taxes should be reduced during periods of recession. The reduction in taxes means that money is "freed-up" for private use. A part of the increased money available to individuals and business will be used for investment, stimulating production and contributing to a rise in the general level of economic activity. A part of the increased money resulting from tax reduction will be used to purchase goods and services, thus stimulating demand.

As Table 1 indicates, alternative economic conditions result in different prescriptions. In periods of inflation, Keynesian policy makers maintain that taxes should be increased particularly in demand-pull as distinguished from cost-push inflationary periods. One of the ways to reduce the demand for goods and services and thus stabilize prices, the Keynesians contend, is to reduce the amount of money available to the consumer with which to bid up prices. Along with the objective of obtaining revenue to pay for the Viet Nam War, this argument was the justification for the "tax surcharge" policy of the Johnson Administration. Reaganomics policy makers argue, conversely, that in times of inflation taxes should be reduced. They use much the same justification as that supporting their contention that expenditures should be reduced in times of inflation. The reduction in taxes means that money is "freed up" for the private sector. If the reduction in taxes is targeted to those most likely to save and invest, namely the upper income individuals and business, the subsequent increase in investment will result in a substantial increase in the supply of goods and services available in the economy, thus equalizing supply and demand and stabilizing prices.

The other point of disagreement between Keynesian and Reaganomics policy prescriptions occurs with respect to expenditures during periods of recession. Keynesians argue that government expenditures should be increased during periods of recession. Viewing government as the nation's largest consumer of goods and services, Keynesians look to increases in government expenditures to produce a stimulating effect on the level of economic activity—the so-called "pump-priming" features of Keynesian policy. It is, of course, the combination of revenue and expenditure policies during periods of recession that lead Keynesians to argue both the necessity and the desirability of deficits under certain economic conditions. Reaganomics policy makers, on the other hand, contend that in times of recession the government should reduce the level of its expenditures. They view the deficits implicit in the Keynesian prescriptions as serious impediments to economic recovery.[5] In their view, government deficits crowd out investment in the private sector of the economy, thereby retarding the level of the production of goods and services in the economy.

The specific policy prescriptions and their justifications mask somewhat

a more general difference between the Keynesian perspective and the Reaganomics perspective. Keynesian policy has been referred to as "depression economics." When viewed in its totality, this reference is simply inaccurate—Keynesian policy did concern itself with periods of inflation. However, it was spawned during a depression and its most visible applications were relative to depression conditions. Additionally, some of the major breaks of Keynesianism with classical theory lay in the Keynesian prescriptions for recessionary periods. Reaganomics has been described as "supply-side" economics. When one examines the justifications for each of the four sets of policies under the Reaganomics perspective in Table 1, one finds an underlying commitment to increasing the supply of goods and services—during both inflationary and recessionary periods. Again, in the words of the White House Press Office, there is to be a ". . . fundamental redirection in the role of the federal government . . . ."[6] This redirection, in each instance, is to reduce government revenues and expenditures, "freeing-up" capital for investment in such a way as to stimulate an increased supply of goods and services. This increased supply, it is claimed, will reduce inflationary tendencies and it will reverse recessionary tendencies by stimulating production which will "get the economy moving again."

In summary, while there are important similarities between the Keynesian and Reaganomics perspectives, there are also important differences. Can the different features of the Reaganomics perspective provide the base for a viable budget theory?

It is obviously too early to undertake a conclusive evaluation of Reaganomics as a possible basis for a budget theory. This is particularly true given the divisions within the Reagan Administration between the "pure supply siders" and, for want of a better term, the "moderates." Reaganomics means different things to different people. While this situation may provide the Administration with a policy flexability that is useful under certain circumstances, it certainly portends problems for the development of an alternative to Keynesianism.

There are other problems in addition to the uncertainty about what Reaganomics actually is. The most important of these is the fact that Reaganomics appears to be as much a perspective on government, its role and function, as it does an economic perspective relevant for budgeting.[7] A major component of Reaganomics is the insistence that the size and pervasiveness of government must be reduced. The concomitant principle is that the private sector and volunteerism must assume many of the roles now performed by government. The budget seems relevant to Reaganomics in this effort only because it can be the instrument for reducing the size of government.

However, at this point we find a serious anomaly in Reaganomics. While the budget is viewed as an instrument for a reduction in the size of

government, that reduction, when accomplished, will result in greater revenues for the government and budget growth. In essence, this is the argument of the Laffer curve: There is a level of taxation which maximizes government revenue and when that level is surpassed, government revenues decline as a result of the dampening effect of high taxes on economic growth. Reduce the rate of taxation and the resultant economic growth will produce more revenue than produced under the relatively higher tax rate.

It would be easy to characterize the Laffer curve as a cocktail napkin version of the "fiscal dividend."[8] Certainly, there is a phenomenon known as the fiscal dividend—those increased revenues produced at the same tax rates resultant from economic growth.[9] The problem with the Laffer curve is that it puts too much emphasis on the tax rate as the cause of economic growth. There is an explicit cause and effect relationship in the Laffer curve: Reduce tax rates to the optimum level or below and economic growth will occur. While tax rates may be a factor in economic growth, they may not be the most important (the availability of investment capital, corporate management, structural features of production, process technology, structural features of the labor market, and the liquidity position of major corporations all may be more important than tax rates to economic growth). Additionally, no one has demonstrated at this point in time the precise effect of tax rates on economic growth. Within the Reagan Administration, David Stockman expressed misgivings over the relationship. He told William Greider, "I've never believed that just cutting taxes alone will cause output and employment to expand."[10] On the liberal side of the ideological spectrum, Lester Thurow observed,

> In thinking about this solution (reducing taxes as a means of stimulating the economy), it is well to remember that none of our competitors became successful by following this route. Government absorbs slightly over 30 percent of the GNP in the United States, but over 50 percent of the GNP in West Germany. Fifteen other countries collect a larger share of their GNP in taxes.[11]

Implicit in the quotation from Thurow is the possibility that higher levels of taxation, given certain economic conditions, may have an expansionary effect on the economy, the exact opposite effect claimed by the Laffer curve. This possibility may be particularly present in periods of a balanced budget. The so-called "balanced-budget-multiplier hypothesis" in conventional public finance asserts that balancing the budget at a higher level of government spending and taxation tends to have an expansionary effect on the level of economic activity.[12] The Laffer curve is based on the assumption that lower rates of taxation will have an expansionary effect that permits balancing the budget at higher levels of spending. Whether the sequence involved in the Laffer curve or that involved in the balanced-

budget-multiplier hypothesis is correct, the anomaly in Reaganomics remains. The size of government can be reduced by lowering tax rates; lower tax rates and the resultant stimulus to the economy will increase the revenues available to the national government and consequently increase the total level of government spending. Reaganomics policy makers confidently speak of a $1 trillion budget by 1986.

In what areas should this increase in the level of government spending occur? The answer given by Reaganomics policy makers is clear—defense. Again, in this area, Reaganomics appears to be more a perspective on the position of the United States in the world than it does a perspective on budgeting. Whether or not the Administration's view of the world and America's military posture is accurate is not the point of analysis here. The essential question for this analysis is whether the Reaganomics view contains consistent principles which enable policy makers to relate various aspects of the budget to each other in an explanatory way. The answer to that question seems to be that Reaganomics does not contain such principles.

There is a serious incompatibility between the Reaganomics view of government and the Reaganomics position on defense. On the one hand, government is to be reduced, particularly its size and pervasiveness. On the other hand, defense expenditures are to be increased significantly, a move which will have important consequences for the pervasiveness of government. One does not need a conspiracy theory, or for that matter a belief in the more benign concept of the "military-industrial complex," to be knowledgeable of the intrusion of government into corporate affairs as a result of defense contracts. The symbiotic relationship between defense contractors and the Pentagon will be strengthened by increased defense expenditures, and perhaps extended to second, third, and fourth tier firms, until now unaffected by the symbiosis. A major catalyst for "statism," a condition deplored by Reaganomics policy makers, may very well be the increase in defense expenditures so ardently supported by Reaganomics policy makers.

When considered from the standpoint of equity, there are serious problems in Reaganomics as a way of relating various aspects of the budget to each other. Money spent on defense not only results in such public goods as security, international stability, etc., enjoyed by all citizens, but they also result in private goods—benefits to individuals, groups and regions of the country. While arguing that theories of conspiracy are rather fanciful, one observer of budgetary politics concluded, "the billions paid to large private contractors who produce weapons and military hardware for the Pentagon provide lucrative business for the corporation, jobs for its employees, and income for the state where the plant is located."[13] Coupled with the reductions in social program expenditures, the increases in defense expenditures should result in income redistributions among individuals and regions that have serious

equity implications.

One of the most serious of those equity problems has to do with employment. Laying aside the question of whether we have structural unemployment in the United States, that is whether our economy and institutions can provide jobs for everyone who wants to work, increases in defense expenditures have serious implications for the kinds and distribution of jobs in the economy. Defense expenditures produce jobs in the basic manufacturing industries of the country—construction, machinery, electronics, steel, ship building, aircraft building, and scientific instruments. So far as the labor pool for these industries are concerned, they are "middle class" industries. The poor and the lower income labor pools are employed primarily in "service industries," that is, fast food places, institutions, and sales and clerical jobs. It is in the poor and lower income labor pools that the highest levels of unemployment occur. Reaganomics seems to be admonishing the poor to free themselves of their dependency on social welfare expenditures by getting a job while at the same time structuring national government expenditures in such a way that jobs are increased for the middle and upper income labor pool, and unaffected in the poor and lower income labor pools.

Reaganomics policy makers often use the analogy of the ocean tide to refer to their anticipated outcomes. They argue that the increase in the general level of economic activity resulting from their budget priorities will raise the economic well-being of all just as the tide raises the water level of the ocean. But if the analogy of the tide is to be used at all, particularly relative to employment opportunities created by budget priorities, a more accurate use would be to say that the tide is rising and falling *at the same time.* The employment tide should rise as a result of defense expenditures for the middle and upper income labor pools. However, it should fall, or at least remain stable, for the poor and lower income labor pools. The necessities of national defense may force policy makers to make choices that are basically unfair. But these choices should be made explicit and, if possible, compensatory steps should be taken to relieve the burden imposed on the individuals and groups most adversely affected. Cutting certain social welfare programs, particularly job creating or job guaranteeing programs, appears to be a rather significant movement away from those compensatory actions required by equity considerations. The problem of equity, illustrated by the effects of a combination of increased defense expenditures and a reduction in job-related social programs, is endemic to the Reaganomics budget.

In addition to the expenditure perspectives of Reaganomics, there are serious problems in accepting the revenue prescriptions as a promising basis for the development of a viable budget theory. As in the expenditure prescriptions, these problems involve the dual concerns of the economic impacts of the proposals and the equity problems associated with the proposals.

The equity problems are most clearly illustrated by the remarks of David Stockman. Begin with his proposition that "I've never believed that just cutting taxes alone will cause output and employment to expand,"[14] and the rest of his Trojan horse statement sounds like a description of a cynical plot whose purpose is to reduce the top tax rates of the rich. The following segment of the Greider article deserves more attention, in some ways, than all the rest of his text:

> "The hard part of the supply-side tax cut is dropping the top rate from 70 to 50 percent—the rest of it is a secondary matter," Stockman explained. "The original argument was that the top bracket was too high, and that's having a devastating effect on the economy. Then, the general argument was that, in order to make this palatable as a political matter, you had to bring down all the brackets. But, I mean, Kemp-Roth was always a Trojan horse to bring down the top rate . . . ." He was conceding what the liberal Keynesian critics had argued from the outset—that supply-side theory was not a new economic theory at all but new language and argument to conceal a hoary old Republican doctrine: give the tax cuts to the top brackets, the wealthiest individuals and the largest enterprises, and let the good effects "trickle down" through the economy to reach everyone else. Yes, emphasizing across-the-board cuts, the supply-side theory was really new clothes for the unpopular doctrine of the old Republican orthodoxy. "It's kind of hard to sell 'trickle down,'" he explained, "so the supply-side formula was the only way to get a tax policy that was really "trickle down." Supply-side is "trickle down" theory."[15]

The major equity questions in the "trickle down" theory are two fold. First, is there really a trickle down effect so that the benefits of the tax reductions are not enjoyed exclusively by a privileged few? In essence, the ultimate answer to this question involves the economic impacts of the tax proposals. Should we conclude, like Stockman, that tax cuts will not cause "output and employment to expand?" If so, the trickle down theory is debunked as economic theory and exposed to the charge of being a cynical rationalization for the violation of the canons of equity in taxation. Second, if the trickle down theory is valid, are the benefits proportionately distributed among the various income groups? Or if everyone is not sharing proportionately in the benefits, are the requirements of the Pareto theorem being met?[16]

The relationship between taxation and investment is a complex one with many problems, both methodological and substantive, associated with the analysis. With Stockman, it is difficult to believe that just cutting taxes will cause output to expand. While there are a number of reasons for this assertion, the scope of this article permits us to mention only two.

First, as indicated earlier, there are many factors involved in economic growth, many of which appear to be just as important as the incidence of taxes on investment. The proposition that taxes have to do with increases in output involves, at the very minimum, analysis of the investment function and, as indicated earlier, no one has demonstrated the precise effect of taxes on investment and economic growth. Second, economic experience, both in the United States and abroad, suggests that the relationship between taxes and investment is weak. We have already alluded to the experience in other countries. Fifteen other countries, including West Germany, collect a larger share of the Gross Domestic Product in taxes than does the United States. Perhaps a more important consideration is that taxes as a percentage of GDP has remained fairly stable in the United States (during the period 1970-77) while increasing in other countries. In 1970, taxes were 30.1 percent of GDP while in 1977 they were 30.3 percent of GDP in the United States. In West Germany, taxes were 32.8 percent of GDP in 1970 and 38.2 percent in 1977. Japan commits less of her GDP to taxes than does the United States, but taxes are growing faster as a percentage of GDP in that country than in the United States. In 1970, taxes were 19.6 percent of GDP in Japan while in 1977 they were 22.2 percent of GDP.[17] It would be difficult, then, to establish a correlation between the rate of growth in GDP and either the absolute level of taxes to GDP or to the rate of growth of taxes as a percentage of GDP. And the correlation would be difficult to establish whether one were making a comparison between countries or whether one were analyzing time series data from a single country.

These factors, among others, make it highly likely that Stockman's proposition is correct: cutting taxes alone may have little impact on the total level of output in the United States.[18] Assuming that the unlikely occurs and output expands as a result of tax reduction, how will that output be distributed and who will benefit? Will everyone get his/her fair share, or if there are those who are left out of the benefit, will there be safeguards that will prevent those individuals from being worse off than before the tax cuts (the so-called Pareto theorem)?

Emma Rothschild provides some interesting insights into this question.[19] Rothschild notes that the structure of employment in the United States has changed drastically in the last decade. More important than the fact that the 1970's was a decade of rapid expansion in employment,[20] the new American jobs were concentrated in two sectors, services and retail trade. Rothschild wrote,

> Even within these two vast sectors, the growth in employment was further concentrated. Three industries each provided more than a million new jobs during the 1973-1979 period: "eating and drinking places," including fast food restaurants; "health services," including private hospitals, nursing homes, and doctors' and dentists' offices; and "business services," including

> personnel supply services, data processing services, reproduction and mailing and the quaintly named "services to buildings."[21]

These three "new" industries, she claims, make the manufacturing industries which are the targets of Reaganomics growth policies insignificant by comparison. The primacy of traditional industry in Reaganomics policy, she argues correctly, cannot be ignored.

What are the implications of these structural changes in American employment for the equity considerations of Reaganomics policies? Again, Rothschild's comments deserve consideration:

> It is in this morose environment that Mr. Reagan's industrial *Geist* must blaze into life. Is such a resurrection likely? There are, it seems to me, two successive dangers ahead. The first is that the policy will not work, that the spirit will fizzle. The second is that the doomed pursuit of the Republic resurrection may lead to a disintegration of the employment-intensive industries, and thus to tremendously increased levels of unemployment, particularly among the poorest and least protected workers. Eventually, as we will see, this may bring about a new "industrial" boom. But it would be one that in virtually no way resembles Mr. Reagan's essential heavy industry. And the long term in question would be extended and vicious beyond any part of the postwar economic experience.[22]

The operative phrase in Rothschild's comment, "the disintegration of the employment-intensive industries," is the basis for the equity concerns in Reaganomics. If disintegration of the employment-intensive industries is the result of Reaganomics, then, not only will there be those who do not share in the benefits of the program, but some will be better off at the expense of others who will be worse off. To say the least, the consequence will be something far less than Pareto optimality.

At this point in time, it is impossible to identify the effects of Reaganomics on output, employment and general economic well-being. However, a crucial feature of Reaganomics is a provision for those who are "left out of" or are "worse off as a result of" the progression of economic growth. This is the so-called "safety net" policy in Reaganomics. Stated in its simplest form, the proposition asserts that the government is to bridge the gap between what individuals can provide for themselves and what they need for subsistence, for those individuals who, through no fault of their own, are left out of or are made worse off by economic conditions. The essential question becomes whether or not the cuts in domestic programs has affected the safety net—a significant part of the micro-effects of Reaganomics. The remainder of this paper will examine data on the effects of the "first wave" of Reaganomics budget cuts on the

provision of human services programs that are generally associated with the "safety net" concept.

Micro-Effects

The analysis of the micro-effects of Reaganomics centers on an attempt to identify the impact of Reaganomics policies on the provision of human service programs in Georgia. Data were derived from two sources. First, a questionnaire was sent to the 159 local offices of the Georgia Department of Human Resources. The four programs for which these offices are responsible are Medicaid, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), Food Stamps, and Child Welfare. The questionnaire sought to identify for each program the reduction in the federal share of funding, whether the reduction was partially offset by increased state/local funding, whether the cut in the federal share resulted in a decrease in the number of persons eligible for the program and/or the level of benefits of recipients, whether the reductions in the federal share resulted in a reduction in staff (professional, administrative and secretarial), and the impact of the federal share reduction on essential programs to individuals in the service area. The second source of data was a questionnaire sent to the state offices of the departments most responsible for the provision of human services programs. These Departments in Georgia are the Department of Human Resources, the Department of Labor, and the Department of Medical Assistance. With regard to the Department of Human Resources, the questionnaire was exactly the same as the one sent to the local offices. The questionnaires for the Department of Labor and the Department of Medical Assistance were modified slightly to reflect the human services programs administered through those departments.

The data provided by the Department of Human Resources were essentially the same as those obtained from the local offices of the Department.[23] The data show that the reductions in the federal share will impact the AFDC program and the Food Stamp program, and will have little or no impact on the child welfare program. With regard to the Food Stamp program, both sets of data show that approximately 13% of the caseload will be removed from the program. This reduction will affect approximately 29,000 households containing an estimated 67,000 individuals in Georgia. These reductions are the result of a decrease of approximately 1.5 million dollars a month in the federal share of the cost of the program. In the AFDC program, over 5,500 cases were closed in October, 1981, affecting over 10,000 individuals. The Department estimates that the number of closures will increase to 8,647 by February, 1982. The closures are largely the result of four factors: (1) the income ceiling test; (2) the earned income disregards; (3) the new step-parent budgeting process; and (4) the lump-sum regulations. The new regulations (rather than an actual reduction in appropriations) is estimated to decrease the

total cost of the program by $14,615,856 of which $4,928,466 is state funds.

The Department was careful to note that the impacts listed above are moderate compared to what would have been the case but for the receipt of new federal funds. As the state office commented, "We wish to emphasize that the reason for (the moderate impact) . . . was the fortuitous receipt of new Title IV-B and E Federal funds which offset any reductions we would have experienced otherwise. We would definitely experience serious impact if the Reagan Administration were successful in exacting a further reduction of 12%. Furthermore, we anticipate substantial reductions in the Fiscal Year 1983."[24] In sum, the state office and most of the local respondents did not believe that services had experienced a "substantial reduction" as a result of the budget cuts. In a word, the safety net seems to be in place for these programs. However, the data, along with the "general comments" of respondents, suggest that the cuts have affected needed services to individuals and any further reduction in funds would jeopardize the safety net itself.[25]

With regard to health services programs, the Administration changed the funding formula for Medicaid within the context of allowing the states some flexibility relative to eligibility criteria and other means of keeping expenditures down. The Georgia Department of Medical Assistance took two courses of action in response to these policy changes. First, it eliminated coverage to individuals 18-21 years of age who would be eligible for AFDC except for the age factor. This action affected 3,679 individuals in the State at a reduction in cost of $120,000. Secondly, the Department reduced the amount, duration, and scope of Medicaid-covered services. These changes included a reduction in the number of hospital days reimbursed by Medicaid, a limitation on the number of visits to a doctor's office during a year, the instatement of a pharmacy lock-in program, a limitation of six prescriptions filled per month, a limitation of five hours of psychological services a year, the requirement of co-payments for pharmacy and adult dental services, and an increase in the limitations on dental service for children, podiatry services, durable medical equipment expenditures, non-emergency transportation, and home health services. The Department estimates that the cumulative value of these reductions will be $7 million, of which $45 million will be federal funds and $22 million state funds.

Table 2 represents the Department's estimation of the impact of the reductions on services to individuals. In the health services programs, while the first phase reductions have significantly impacted certain programs, it is clear that the safety net is still in place. As with the previously discussed programs, however, further reductions would appear to impact negatively the safety net itself.

The data suggest that the safety net has been negatively affected in

the third program area, employment services to individuals. As suggested above, drastic increases in defense expenditures raise serious questions of equity, particularly as they benefit middle and upper income labor

TABLE 2
IMPACT OF FIRST PHASE BUDGET REDUCTIONS ON MEDICAL SERVICES TO INDIVIDUALS IN GEORGIA

	No Impact	Minimal Impact	Moderate Impact	Significant Impact
Podiatry		X		
Psychology	X			
Adult Dental		X		
EPSDT (dental)		X		
Durable Medical Equipment			X	
Hospital			X	
Laboratory	X			
Mental Health	X			
Non Emergency Transportation		X		
Nursing Home	X			
Pharmacy			X	
Physician			X	
Eligibility				X
Aid to Families with dependent children				X

Source: Survey instrument returned by the Department of Medical Assistant, Planning, Research and Evaluation Division, December 28, 1981.

sectors and negatively impact low income labor sectors. Therefore, the safety net concept, particularly in the absence of compensatory programs designed to reduce the inequity, looms as especially significant in the area of employment programs.

Four programs administered by the Georgia Department of Labor were affected. These programs and the amount of the federal share reduction are (1) employment service ($3,012,141.00), (2) Job Corps ($27,132.00), (3) the Work Incentive Program, WIN, ($373,551.00), and (4) CETA ($65,796,135.00). Table 3 is the estimate by the State office of the composite impacts these reductions will have on essential services to individuals. The reduced Employment Service budget has caused a

TABLE 3

IMPACT OF FIRST PHASE BUDGET REDUCTIONS ON EMPLOYMENT SERVICES TO INDIVIDUALS IN GEORGIA

	No Impact	Minimal Impact	Moderate Impact	Significant Impact
Employment service				X
Job Corps		X		
WIN				X
CETA				X

Source: Survey instrument returned by the Georgia Department of Labor, Employment Security Division, December 14, 1981.

reduction in the number of satellite offices and itinerant service points. This reduces accessibility to services for residents of a large number of counties in Georgia. In addition to the strictly employment services effects of this reduction, local offices will be severely limited in their efforts to attempt job placement of Food Stamp recipients. The reduction in funds for the Work Incentive Program (WIN) has resulted in a large number of counties no longer being served. The Department of Labor now provides WIN services in only 57 of Georgia's 159 counties. The reduction also severely limits the number of On-Job-Training (OJT) and Institutional Training contracts available. Finally, client participation has been reduced in certain service components, that is, work experience has been cut from the previously authorized 13 weeks to a maximum of 8 weeks, time allowed for GED (high school equivalency diploma) has been limited to 6 weeks, and an overall decrease of 50% in allowable time for component participation. The reduction in CETA funds impacts services to individuals in significant ways. It eliminates all Prime Sponsor staff in Georgia and reduces the staff of the Department of Labor. Additionally, the reduction in CETA funds reduces the number of participants to be served by approximately 25,000 individuals. Finally, since many of the participants previously served in CETA were in employment positions assigned to cities and counties, local services will be reduced. In addition to the impacts resulting from the reduction in federal funding, the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981 changed regulations applicable to Targeted Jobs Tax Credits (TJTC) which decreased significantly the number of individuals certified. Additionally, the ability of local Employment Services offices to deliver TJTC services to applicants and employers has been reduced by the budget cuts.

The data suggest, then, that the safety net has been negatively affected by the first phase budget reductions. Reaganomics policy makers claim, however, that the private sector will provide jobs through an

expanding economy. As of this date, with an unemployment rate at 8.5% it is clear that the new jobs have not been forthcoming. Perhaps, as the Administration claims, the new policies "simply have not had time to work." Even if one were to grant this assertion, it is difficult to take comfort in Administration forecasts. As Donald Ratajczak observed,

> Administration forecasts were even worse than those in the private sector. Not only was no recession anticipated, but real growth in 1982 was projected at 3.4 percent. Most forecasters now expect 1982 to show no growth at all. Rarely has any administration been so poor at anticipating the economy.[26]

It may be, as Reaganomics policy makers insist, that substantial "burden" will accrue to "getting the economy moving again." But the data, particularly that from the employment sector, suggest that the burden is falling disproportionately on low income labor sectors. Administration projections for improvement in this area have not proven accurate at this point in time.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this paper was to analyze three questions. First, how does the macro-perspective of Reaganomics differ from previous ways of viewing the budget? Second, is Reaganomics a promising beginning toward the development of a valid theory of budgeting? Third, what are the micro-effects of Reaganomics, who is being affected and in what ways?

With regard to the first question, there are important similarities and differences between Reaganomics and its primary competitor, Keynesianism. The similarities have to do with policies which should be pursued relative to government expenditures under conditions of inflation and government revenues under conditions of recession. The policies of both perspectives are similar, but for different reasons. The differences in the two are found in their respective policies for revenues in periods of inflation and their policies for expenditures in periods of recession.

The present analysis suggests that Reaganomics does not offer a promising beginning toward the development of a valid theory of budgeting. Some of the problem here may be traced to the confusion as to what Reaganomics actually is or to the division in the Reagan Administration between the "moderates" and the "pure supply siders." However, there are serious inadequacies in Reaganomics, particularly relative to the weight Reaganomics assigns to government revenue and expenditure policies. Additionally, there are serious problems of inequity which are endemic to Reaganomics policies. As a result, these inadequacies and inequities mean that, even if there were a consistent articulation of what Reaganomics means, it is highly doubtful that the perspective could

function as a viable perspective on budgeting over the long run.

Concerning the micro-effects of Reaganomics, the present analysis suggests that, after the first phase cuts, Reaganomics has left the safety net intact in most human services programs, with the exception of employment services. The Georgia data do suggest that additional cuts would jeopardize the safety net concept in several other program areas. The employment data are suggestive, also, of the inequity which seems to be an unavoidable feature of Reaganomics policies in certain areas.

For the analyst and policy maker alike, the words of David Stockman seem most appropriate as a concluding statement:

> "None of us really understand what's going on with all these numbers," Stockman confessed at one point. "You've got so many different budgets out and so many different baselines and such complexity now in the interactive parts of the budget between policy action and the economic environment and all the internal mysteries of the budget, and there are a lot of them. People are getting from A to B and it's not clear how they are getting there. It's not clear how we got there . . ."[27]

Stockman spoke the truth—it is not clear how Reaganomics policy makers got where they did. Stockman was perplexed also by the more basic question articulated by V. O. Key, Jr., several years earlier: On what basis shall it be decided to allocate X dollars to Activity A instead of Activity B? The development of Reaganomics to date makes it clear that we have a long search yet before us if we are to find the answer to that question.

NOTES

[1]V. O. Key, Jr., "The Lack of Budgetary Theory," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 34, no. 4 (December, 1940), p. 1137.

[2]Bruce R. Bartlett published a book by the title *Reaganomics* while Reagan was campaigning against Carter for the presidency. Bartlett is a Washington based political writer with a Master's degree in history. The book's style is journalistic and its purpose is polemical. After Reagan's election, Bartlett became a member of the staff of the Joint Economic Committee of the United States Congress. See, *Reaganomics.* Westport, Conn.: Arlington House Publishers, 1981.

[3]"The Economic Plan," The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, February 18, 1981, p. 1.

[4]The Keynesian perspective has dominated American national budgeting essentially since the Employment Act of 1946. The perspective was so widely accepted that *Time* magazine in 1965 quoted Milton Friedman, the leading spokesman for monetary policy, to the effect that, "We are all Keynesians now." Richard Nixon, as President echoed the sentiment in 1971 by saying, "I am now a Keynesian."

[5]Faced with the possibility of sizeable deficits through 1984 (possibly reaching $160 billion in 1984), some Reaganomics policy makers began relaxing their concern for the deficit. By the end of 1981, reports were circulated that some members of the Reagan Administration were willing to accept high deficits as necessary short-run effects of Reaganomics.

[6]"The Economic Plan," *op. cit.*, p. 1.

[7]One of the "intellectual pieces" forming the foundation of Reaganomics is the book *Taxes and Civilization* written by Jude Wanniski (Basic Books, 1981). Wanniski openly states that the book was inspired by the "Laffer curve." One of the primary objectives of the book is to identify, Laffer curve style, the coordinates of the optimum tax rate. Being unable to plot those coordinates, Wanniski concludes that the "right" tax rate is the rate the public will support in an election during which it was given a proper choice. Thus even the tax rate is seen as a political problem, a way of viewing the functioning of government and the development of public policy, as opposed to an economic one, that is a rational calculation to be made on the basis of revenue needs and economic impacts.

[8]A part of the mythology of Reaganomics is that Laffer first drew his curve for a few friends on a napkin in a cocktail lounge.

[9]There is an "inflation dividend" as well, a factor that leads some analysts to conclude that governments prefer a moderate rate of inflation and led the Reagan Administration to propose "indexing" taxes to the inflation rate.

[10]William Greider, "The Education of David Stockman," *The Atlantic Monthly,* December, 1981, p. 46.

[11]Lester C. Thurow, *The Zero-Sum Society* (New York: Penguin Books, 1980), p. 7.

[12]Ansel A. Sharp and Bernard F. Sliger, *Public Finance* (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1964), p. 113.

[13]Lance T. LeLoup, *Budgetary Politics,* 2nd ed. (Brunswick, Ohio: King's Court Communications, Inc., 1980), p. 254.

[14]Greider, "The Education of David Stockman," *op. cit.,* p. 46. For summary statements understandable to laymen of two moderately different views on tax incentives, disincenties and capital spending, see Gary Fromm (ed.), *Tax Incentives and Capital Spending* (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1971); and the book *Fiscal Policy and Business Capital Formation* (Washington: The American Enterprise Institute, 1967).

[15]*Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

[16]Pareto argued that a particular action was equitable as long as someone benefited while no one else was any "worse off."

[17]U.S. Bureau of Census, *Statistical Abstract of the U.S.: 1980* (101st. ed.) (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1980), p. 906. In Switzerland, taxes went from 23.8 percent of GDP in 1970 to 31.5 percent of GDP in 1977. The largest percentage increase was found in Sweden where taxes went from 40.5 percent of GDP in 1970 to 53.4 percent of GDP in 1977.

[18]The immediate caveat should be added that the United States may experience economic growth, even in the immediate future. The point here is that if such economic growth occurs, the important causal variables will be factors other than tax rate reduction.

[19]Emma Rothschild, "Reagan and the Real America," *The New York Review,* February 5, 1981, pp. 12-18.

[20]Almost 13 million new nonagricultural jobs were created, giving the U.S. by far the most rapid growth in total employment of any industrial country—three times the rate of Japan. Employment in West Germany actually fell during the period.

[21]Rothschild, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

[22]*Ibid.*, p. 14.

[23]State level data reflected in the Department of Human Resources response would be on the basis of the more complete sample than that obtained from the local office questionnaire. The rate of the local office to our questionnaire was 28.4 percent. Responses of the 28 percent, when projected to the 100 percent level are the same, for all practical purposes, as the data provided by the state office.

[24]"General Comment" on the survey returned from the Division of Family and Children Services, Department of Human Resources, November 20, 1981.

[25]The following five statements are representative of the general comments:

a.

Effects are likely to be felt for sometime, but the overall effect has been minimal so far.

b.

When changes in programs are being considered, those proposing them always say that the elderly, disabled, and children will not be affected. This is not true. These groups of people are *always* hit hardest by changes.

c.

The cuts may be somewhat justifiable, if *all* government programs are reduced then social services should also—but—the social service program cuts are hitting those people who have the fewest to give, they hit the most vulnerable people and the cuts hit hardest those who have no financial cushion to fall back upon.

d.

Have felt for sometime cuts were needed in Medicaid, AFDC, and Food Stamp programs. These programs tended to promote dependency of clients rather than encouraging independence. We do feel that the Fed. Govt. should consider cuts carefully and look at the long range effects rather than just cutting for the sake of cutting.

e.

Any time there is a drastic cut in funding it will have an adverse effect on programs to the poor. It behooves us as social service agencies and personnel to "beat the bushes" for alternative sources of revenues and for innovative and creative ways of meeting the needs of our clients that will be created as a result of federal cuts. It seems apparent that if the needs are going to be met that individuals will have to make personal commitments as well as communities and churches and other local organizations.

[26]Donald Ratajczak, "The Economy," *The Atlanta Constitution*, December 30, 1981, p. 1C.

[27]Greider, "The Education of David Stockman," *op. cit.*, p. 38.

A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR AMERICA: THE CONSERVATIVE OPPORTUNITY SOCIETY

Newt Gingrich and Mark Florio

Too many people in all facets of American life, certainly including politics, approach the society they live in from a mechanical framework. They see society as a machine: each part is separate, independent and ignorant of others; nothing is inherently related to anything else.

We prefer to approach the needs, problems and solutions of our society organically. That is, each part of society, whether it be the individual or an institution, are interrelated. Everything is related to everything else.

The organic approach is comparable to the interrelationship found among the organs of the human body. The difference between the organic and mechanical approaches can be illustated by comparing the stomach in the human body with the refrigerator in a kitchen. The basic difference between the stomach and the refrigerator is the interdependence the stomach has with other organs in the human body. The well-being of the stomach can't be divorced from the well-being of other organs. If something goes wrong with the lungs or the liver, the stomach will be affected. The lungs put oxygen in the blood, and that keeps the entire body working, including the stomach. Remove the stomach and the lungs won't be nourished. In the human body the interrelationship between the organs is too high for a healthy organ to be unaffected by a malfunctioning one.

A refrigerator, whether it's in a kitchen or not, is still a refrigerator. It will function quite properly regardless of other appliances in the kitchen. Even within a machine like a refrigerator, one part can fail and the other parts stop—but they aren't hurt. The degree of interrelationship found in the human body doesn't exist in a machine. Too many leaders see society as a collection of machines: Policies which affect one person or institution, for good or bad, do not affect the behavior of others.

Here are some examples of the blindness brought on by this mechanical framework:

—Lower tax rates won't provide incentives for American workers to work harder;

—A welfare system that displaces the male as the chief breadwinner won't hurt the family structure (or if it does affect it, it really doesn't matter);

—Legalized abortion won't lead people to disrespect other forms of helpless life such as an infant with Down's Syndrome.

These are examples of a mechanical framework that holds that our actions and their results can be compartmentalized and quarantined from society as a whole.

The mechanical framework runs rampant in the field of education, especially in our colleges and universities. Today, most liberal arts curriculums are totally illiberal. A student at most universities or colleges take Sociology 101, then Political Science 101, then Economics 101 and English 101—as though life is divided upon into compartments when in fact it exists intermingled.

While it may be useful to break down information so people can master larger and larger quantities of data about smaller and smaller fields, we need a countervailing force to synthesize all the data and place it in proper perspective. We need a university or college with the wisdom and courage to attempt once again to tie knowledge back together. Originally, "university" meant students would get a view of the unity of the world, the relationship tying it together. When Clark Kerr invented the term "multiversity" in the late 1960s, he was recognizing the fragmented nature of our learning.

When universities were still universities, there was a discipline known as Political Economy. Politics and economics were studied jointly with the premise that to understand one, the other had to be mastered as well. Political Economy recognized that the psychology of human beings relates directly to the social structure they live in, which relates directly to the economic and technological matrix of their culture, which in turn is related to how society is run through the forces of power, what we call politics. Only to the degree we tie these studies together can we make sense of each.

Throughout the history of mankind, examples abound to illustrate that human beings are as interrelated as the organs in the human body; that it takes more than financial rewards or personal glory to ensure that a job is "well-done." A sense of shared commitment, of being involved in something larger than oneself; a sense that the task is worth the effort, is just as important, if not more so.

The Soul Of A New Machine[1] by Tracy Kidder follows the trials and errors of a team of "whiz kids" as they battle time and management pressure to develop a new, advanced mini-computer. This book clearly shows that the reasons for the team's success went beyond financial rewards and certainly personal glory. Kidder writes:

> Presumably the stonemasons who raised the cathedrals worked only partly for their pay. They were building temples to God. It was the sort of work that gave meaning to life. That's what West and his team of engineers were looking for, I think. They themselves like to say they didn't work on the machine for money. In the aftermath, some of them felt that they were receiving neither

> the loot nor the recognition they had earned, and some said they were a little bitter on that score. But when they talked about the project itself, their enthusiasm returned. It lit up their faces. Many seemed to want to say that they had participated in something quite out of the ordinary. They'd talk about the virtues of the machine—"We built it right"—and how quickly they had done it—"No one ever did it fast; at least Data General never did"—and of the experience they had gained—"Now I can do in two hours what used to take me two days." One of the so-called kids . . . remarked, "This'll make my resumé look real good." But, he quickly added, that wasn't what it was all about.[2]

In *The Wizard War*,[3] Reginald Jones writes about the reason for the remarkable success of one particular Royal Air Force Squadron in World War II. This squadron was one of the last to have each of its pilots fly his own plane on every mission, backed up by a ground repair crew that serviced only that squadron's planes. The RAF had previously decided that money could be saved by switching over to a centralized repair system. Henceforth, for each operation, each pilot would have to fly an aircraft that was probably not the one he used during the last mission. The new impersonal system "achieved flying hours at the expense of espirit de corps that formerly existed between the air crew and ground crew . . ."

> The enthusiasm engendered by the direct interest of the ground crew in a particular aircraft and pilot somehow drew substantially more work out of them when an emergency arose. Since this is rarely quantifiable, it is not usually taken into account by a plan to improve administrative efficiency.[4]

What America desperately needs today is a governing philosophy based on the understanding that all "things" in our society are interrelated. We need a governing philosophy that is organic in nature, not mechanical.

As a start in that direction, we want to present and argue for a "Conservative Opportunity Society" as a replacement for the Liberal Welfare State philosophy that American government and society have been loyal to for the last 15 years. High interest rates and budget battles dominate today's headlines. Yet history books are much more likely to record the fundamental change in America's approach to government that took place in the 1980's. Today's news-making difficulties are symptoms of the real story.

The Conservative Opportunity Society concept is based on, first of all, traditional conservative ideas: the American people would be better off with more political power at the local and state levels; the government in Washington is doing (or trying to do) too much and is sapping the freedom and innovation of our diverse population; and that the cost of

that over-extension, in dollars and efficiency, is too high.

The Conservative Opportunity Society concept, though, goes beyond traditional conservatism in that, as Irving Kristol says, ". . . finding fault with someone else's program is not substitute for a program of your own."[5] Rather than merely highlighting the failings of the welfare state, the Conservative Opportunity Society concept includes an organic vision and agenda of its own for America's future. It also recognizes the need for the redevelopment of a national spirit in the country.

Today's conservatism places too much emphasis on economics. The problem with overemphasis on supply-side economics—or any economic theory—is that it's mechanical; man becomes a one-dimensional being who responds solely to his economic needs. Too many conservatives confuse maintenance of a healthy free enterprise system—a necessary and laudable goal certainly—with an organic philosophy of what society is all about and the government's role in it. Conservatives tend to see capitalism as an end in itself, rather than as one of many means that contribute to an end. The end must be a better society, a just society—or at least the constant striving for it.

The fundamental shift from the Liberal Welfare State idea to a Conservative Opportunity Society will not, of course, occur overnight. In a time of economic hardship like today, people will always focus on the pocketbook issues. The upcoming election is certainly going to be dominated by economic issues.

Yet, if conservatives are to succeed this fall, they must ask the American people to think beyond the present economic indicators and decide whether they want to fall back to the Liberal Welfare State ideas or continue with the policies that will move us toward a Conservative Opportunity Society. The question for this fall's election, then, should be: Granted we're not very healthy right now, but how do we get well?' which brand of medicine do we want?

In a real sense, the upcoming election may turn on the fundamental differences between the vision of the Liberal Welfare State and the future vision of the Conservative Opportunity Society. The differences might be summarized as follows:

The Liberal Welfare State's Vision of Limits to Growth	**The Conservative Opportunity Society's Vision of New Growth**
Despair	Hope
Shared Misery	Elimination of Misery
Ration Shrinking Pie	Build Bigger Pie for All
Declining Future	Better Future Possible
Pessimism	Optimism
Resources Limit Man	Resources Limited Only by Man's Ingenuity

As the economy strengthens, conservatives must begin to think about formulating policies that go beyond the economic indicators. We must, as Kristol says, develop a program, a vision for America to replace the Liberal Welfare State vision. After the recovery, to govern over the long-haul, to truly leave our stamp on society, conservatives must show the people that we have ideas and solutions that address their needs and fears in these last two decades of the 20th Century.

The seeds of a new century are at hand. The children born this year will graduate from high school in the year 2000. What they learn, the dreams they dream will become tomorrow's reality. The roots of the future grow in the present.

The late 18th Century industrial revolution was powered by the steam engine. The late 19th Century revolution was driven by electricity and the internal combustion engine.

Late 20th Century economic growth will push forward in three areas of scientific and technical development. We stand at the threshold of breakthroughs in computers, in space and in biology. Each revolution will help people. Each will create new jobs, new opportunities and a higher standard of living for all Americans.

The most obvious and perhaps the most far-reaching breakthrough is in the field of computer and information technology. We're only at the beginning of the changes in information science and computers. Every American should have a chance to understand and take advantage of these new opportunities.

As home computers drop in cost and increase in ability, we have a chance to allow every interested American to once again *own the means of production.* Home computers can create new jobs, new careers and indeed whole new industries. They can eliminate disability from America by enabling handicapped and disabled Americans to engage in productive work from their homes. They can potentially strengthen the family by allowing mothers with pre-school children to work out of their homes. With home computers, every inquisitive American, young and old, can focus on new learning opportunities.

As a kind of technological "homestead act," I have introduced in Congress the "Family Opportunity Act." This legislation offers each family member a $100 per year tax credit for up to 50 percent of the cost of a home computer hardware or software system, with five years to write off the investment. Such legislation fits the Conservative Opportunity Society concept of the government acting to enourage individual behavior that will contribute to our future national well-being, without building another centralized bureaucracy in Washington.

We should stress that working Americans have nothing to fear from the widespread use of home computers. New industries, new inventions and their acceptance by society have always added new, better-paying jobs to our economy. Electricity eliminated candlemakers but added, for

instance, refrigerator and toaster manufacturing and repair jobs. The automobile industry eliminated buggy-makers but added jobs in steel, tiremaking, highway building and other fields. Similarly, computers will create new jobs, new careers and indeed whole new industries.

The computer breakthroughs will be matched by equally rewarding breakthroughs in the field of biology. The breakthroughs in biology are coming in the areas of nutrition and health care. Our new knowledge in these areas will lead to more food supplies, better health care and more effective cures for disease. They offer the hope and possibility that the United States will truly be able to resume its leadership in both healing and feeding the world—the two most important factors in life.

The third breakthrough the Conservative Opportunity Society is committed to and will encourage is our nation's continued exploration of space. Along with computer technology and bio-engineering, space is America's frontier for the rest of this century and into the next. In 1961 John F. Kennedy had the vision to open up a new window of opportunity for America: the new frontier of space.

Eight years later we closed the window on the new frontier of space when we drastically curtailed our space effort after reaching the moon. We opened it a little with the space shuttle program. Our job now is to continue to build upon the success of our space shuttle effort. America grows, survives and prospers by creating new jobs for its citizens by moving into its frontiers. In the past we abandoned the horse and buggy as a means of transportation for the automobile. Likewise, we abandoned railroads as a primary source of transportation because we had developed the airplane as a means for more efficient travel. Each of these new frontiers opened up countless job opportunities and enriched our lives. Further exploration of space will yield us no less.

Each of these breakthoughs in computers, biology and space will create a stronger and more productive America. Each of them fits the decentralized, market-oriented pro-national defense values of the Conservative Opportunity Society as opposed to the centralized bureaucracy, consumption oriented, anti-nationalist values of the Liberal Welfare State.

Theodore Roosevelt once said, "The only true conservative is the man who resolutely sets his face toward the future." In that vein we propose that conservatives boldly grasp the challenge of the future and increase our commitment to a strong, national effort in space and to strong individual effort in the fields of computer information and biology.

Some conservatives may initially balk at the idea of conservative government leading the nation in these endeavors. Conservatives need to come to grips with the role they would have our national government play in American society. As a start, conservatives should, in a Hamiltonian sense, oppose bureaucracy and favor the use of government tax and incentive policies to encourage behavior that will build assets for the

future, Alexander Hamilton, the first Secretary of the Treasury, favored government policies to help fledgling industries of the future. Abraham Lincoln, the first Republican President, was elected on a platform that populated the West with a homestead act and built a transcontinental railroad using government incentives. Theodore Roosevelt, the most popular Republican President in this century, used the government to build the Panama Canal. President Eisenhower built the interstate highway system so vital to the economic well-being of our country.

Conservatives today must take care that the American people do not view them simply as a party of bookkeepers and accountants, tidying up the Liberal Welfare State. We must replace the Liberal Welfare State vision with a vision of our own. We must be investors, builders and creators of a different and better future. We should favor a federal budget that allows and encourages as large a role as possible for the private sector. Clearly, through, private efforts alone couldn't build the transcontinental railroad or the Panama Canal or the interstate highway system. Similarly, individuals alone cannot explore the new frontiers of space or guide and encourage the widespread use of home computers. On projects that are large and fundamental to the well-being and growth of our nation, conservatives must place high budget priority and act directly in the Conservative Opportunity Society era.

Any successful political party or philosophy must go to the American people and say, "Here's what we stand for, here's our vision of society for the future." That's what political leadership is about. And that type of leadership, obviously, must allow for an activist role for the national government. That doesn't mean there must inherently be a large, prohibitively expensive federal bureaucracy in Washington. Modern liberalism has spread the government's responsibilities so thinly, that today the government does few if any tasks well. Conservatives should seek to confine the national government to those duties only it can do well in the national interest—and then see that it does them well.

NOTES

[1]Tracy Kidder, *The Soul Of A New Machine* (Boston, 1981).

[2]*Ibid.*, pp. 272-73.

[3]R. V. Jones, *The Wizard War: British Scientific Intelligence* 1939-45 (New York, 1978).

[4]*Ibid.*, pp. 419-20.

[5]Irving Kristol, *Two Cheers For Capitalism* (Mentor Paperback edition, New York, 1979), p. 118.

CUMULATIVE INDEX

Adams, James W. . . . . VII 21-30
The Role of Economics in Community Development

Adkins, Howard G. . . . . XII 35-49
The Geographic Base of Urban Retardation in Mississippi, 1800-1840

Ainsley, W. Frank and John W. Florin . . . . . XII 30-34
The North Carolina Piedmont: An Island of Religious Diversity

Altschule, Mark D. . . . . X 16-34
Beyond Good and Evil—or How to Create the Dark in Which to Whistle

Arbena, Joseph L. . . . . VI 3-20
The Image of an American Imperialist: Colombian views of Teddy Roosevelt

Askew, Thomas . . . . . II 46-64
Political Change in Georgia

Bellows, Thomas J. . . . . I 42-56
Communism and the Emerging States of Southeast Asia and Africa

Bellows, Thomas J. . . . . V 33-45
Some Problems of Nation-Building in Southeast Asia

Benson, George C. S. . . . . XIV 1-20
Causes and Cures of Political Corruption

Berkin, Carol R. . . . . XV 65-78
Jonathan Boucher: The Loyalist as Rebel

Bjerkerot, Ernst . . . . . VIII 46-51
Observations on the African "World- View" and its Encounter with Christianity

Blackstock, Paul W. . . . . V 3-17
Soviet Political Warfare Under Khrushchev

Brinkman, Leonard W. . . . . XII 50-58
Home Manufactures as an Indication of an Emerging Appalachian Subculture, 1840-1870

Britton, John A. . . . . XVII 89-97
Carelton Beals on the Ambiguities of Revolutionary Change in Mexico and Peru

Broussard, Ray . . . . . VI 81-92
Comonfort: The Misunderstood Reformer

Bryson, Thomas A. . . . . IX 40-56
United States Involvement in Vietnam: A Survey of Conflicting Interpretations

Bryson, Thomas A. . . . . XI 10-17
William Brown Hodgson's Mission to Egypt

Bunzl, Robert M. . . . . III 47-54
The Economic Miracle of Central Europe

Burns, E. Bradford . . . . . VIII 52-61
The Black in Brazilian History: An Exploration Essay

Campbell, Thomas M. . . . . XIII 41-56
The Resurgence of Isolationism at the End of World War II

Cheatwood, Derral and Michael N. Halstead . . . . . XX 42-55
Season of Birth and Acceptable Science: A Discussion of Peripheral Theories

Clark, Tom . . . . . X 3-7
"Justice Ye Shall Pursue"

Clayton, Lawrence A. . . . . XVII 1-12
A Shared Prosperity: W. R. Grace & Company and Modern Peru, 1852-1952

Claxton, Robert H. . . . . VIII 29-39
A Latin American Alternative to Racism: Some Aspects of the Thought of Eugenio María de Hostos

Cometti, Elizabeth . . . . . XV 79-90
The Labor Front During the Revolution

Crane, Jeffrey Lloyd . . . . . XX 27-41
The Old Courtesan: An Occasion for the Structuralist-Semiotic Research Program

Crook, Morgan R., Jr. . . . . XVIII 89-100
Archaelogical Indications of Community Structures at the Kenan Field Site

Crook, Morgan R., Jr. and Patricia D. O'Grady . . . . . XVIII 9-34
Spalding's Sugar Works Site, Sapelo Island, Georgia

Crook, Morgan R., Jr. . . . . XVIII 77-87
Spatial Associations and Distribution of Aggregate Village Sites in a Southeastern Atlantic Coastal Area

Daniels, Bruce E. . . . . XV 15-30
Emerging Urbanism and Increasing Social Stratification

DeMaio, Gerald . . . . . XIV 49-66
The Quest for the American Public Orthodoxy: An Assessment

Deutsch, Kenneth L. . . . . XIV 67-90
Existentialism and Liberal Democratic Values: Reflections on Individualism and Corruption In American Politics

Dobson, Jeffrey and Roy Doyon . . . . . XVIII 43-57
Expansion of the Pine Oleoresin Industry in Georgia: 1842 to Ca. 1900

Doenecke, Justus D. . . . . XIII 5-39
Isolationists of the 1930s and 1940s: An Historiographical Essay

Douglas, William O. . . . . IV 3-16
The Role of the Governments of the World in Establishing a Rule of Law Instead of Force

Drimmer, Melvin . . . . . VIII 24-28
Teaching Black History in America: What are the Problems?

Dunstan, Florene J. . . . . VI 110-118
Ruy Barbosa, A Great Brazilian

Ernst, Joseph A. and Harry Roy Merrens . . . . . XII 16-29
The South Carolina Economy of the Middle Eighteenth Century: A View from Philadelphia

Fanning, J. W. . . . . II 18-28
Changes in Georgia Agriculture

Finney, Kenneth V. . . . . XVII 13-20
Our Man in Honduras: Washington S. Valentine

Fitz-Simons, Theodore B. . . . . VII 60-72
History's Relation to Sociology and Community Development

Floyd, Joe W., Jr. . . . . XX 56-72
Biological Cycles and Socio-Rhythms

Foust, J. Brady and Ingolf Vogeler . . . . . XVIII 85-92
Prolegomenon to Future Research on Black Agriculture in the South

Frank, Harry E. . . . . VII 3-7
Community Development in West Georgia: An Introductory Note

Fulmer, John L. . . . . II 3-17
Population Change in Georgia

Gabard, William M. . . . . XI 26-44
John Elliott Ward and the Treaty of Tientsin

Gardiner, C. Harvey . . . . . VI 134-143
Lincoln's Scholarly Diplomat in Ecuador: Friedrich Hassaurek

Gauld, Charles A. . . . . VI 98-109
Farquhar: Economic Statesman in Amazonia and South Brazil

Gerome, Frank . . . . . XVII 61-72
United States Involvement in Panamanian Politics during Taft's Administration

Gidney, James . . . . . IX 16-29
The Middle East: The Last Crusade

Gonzalez, Alfonzo . . . . . VI 21-39
Castro: Some Economic Benefits for Latin America

Gore, Albert . . . . . IV 17-22
The Changing Role of Congress

Gouger, James B. . . . . XVI 73-90
The Northern Neck of Virginia: A Tidewater Grain-Farming Region in the Antebellum South

Gustafson, Milton O. . . . . XIII 57-64
Untapped Resources for American Diplomatic History on the National Archives

Henretta, James A. . . . . XV 1-14
Southern Social Structure and the American War for Independence

Henson, Gerald M. . . . . XIV 41-48
Frameworks for Democratic Reform

Hersch, Robert . . . . . VIII 14-23
Negro Slavery and the Emergency of the South as a Distinct Region Prior to 1850

Hilliard, Sam B. . . . . XII 1-15
An Introduction to Land Survey Systems in the Southeast

Holland, Lynwood M. . . . . IV 33-41
The Changing Role of State Government

Horn, James J. . . . . XVII 99-112
Mexican Oil Diplomacy and the Legacy of Teapot Dome

Hounshell, Charles D. . . . . IV 23-32
The Changing Role of the United States in World Affairs

Huck, Eugene R. . . . . V 66-74
Latin America's Appalachia: Its Genesis in Illiteracy

Jewell, Jack L. . . . . VII 38-42
Practical Contribution of Geography to Local Planning

Johnson, Phil Brian . . . . . XVII 21-35
Diplomatic Dullard: The Career of Thomas Sumter, Jr. and Diplomatic Relations of the United States with the Portuguese Court in Brazil, 1809-1821

Kennett, Lee Boone, Jr. . . . . III 34-46
The New France

Keller, Frank V., Sanford H. Bederman and Truman A. Hartshorn . . . . . XVI 49-59
Migration Patterns of Atlanta's Inner City Displaced Residents

Kovacik, Charles F. . . . . XVI 39-48
The Declining Small Southern Town

LaBarge, Richard A. . . . . VI 40-53
La Huelga de la Costa Norte: The 1954 Strike Against the United Fruit Company

Larson, Lewis H., Jr. . . . . XVIII 35-45
The Spanish on Sapelo

Lanier, Osmos, Jr. . . . . XI 45-55
'Paramount' Blount: Special Commissioner to Investigate the Hawaiian Coup, 1893

Lightsey, Tom J. . . . . VII 43-48
The Role of Education in Community Development

Locke, Ralph G. . . . . XX 1-15
Protean Principles: Explorations in the Structure and Symbolism of Healing

Makielski, S. J., Jr. . . . . XIV 21-30
Politics, Corruption, and Power

Martin, John M. . . . . I 42-48
The Changing Role of Colleges and Universities

Mathews, David . . . . . X 35-39
America—Changing Values in Education

Mathis, L. Doyle . . . . . VII 13-20
The Role of Government in Community Development

McMichael, Alan E. . . . . XVIII 47-60
A Model for Barrier Island Settlement Pattern

Mealor, W. Theodore, Jr. . . . . XVIII 25-42
Functional and Spatial Patterns of Georgia Short Line Railroads, 1915-1978

Mell, Mildred R. . . . . III 55-68
Trade Relations of the United States with the New Europe

Miller, J. Mark . . . . . VII 8-12
A Rationale for Community Development

Millett, Richard . . . . . XVII 73-87
John Wesley Butler and the Mexican Revolution, 1910-1911

Moore, Tyrel G. . . . . XVIII 1-8
The Role of Ferryboat Landings in East Tennessee's Economic Development, 1790-1870

Moseley, Edward H. . . . . VI 69-80
Vidaurri and States Rights

O'Grady, Patricia D. . . . . XVIII 1-8
The Occupation of Sapelo Island

Page, Robert W. . . . . VI 57-68
Cortes: A Comment

Parsons, Fred . . . . . VII 49-54
The Community as a Social System

Parthemos, George S. . . . . I 18-30
What is Communism?

Perez, Louis A., Jr. . . . . XVII 49-59
The Platt Amendment and Dysfunctional Politics in Cuba: The Electoral Crises of 1916-1917

Pinson, William M. . . . . X 8-15
America—Churches in Revolution

Quinlivan, Mary E. . . . . XV 55-64
From Pragmatic Accommodation to Principled Action: The Revolution and Religious Establishment in Virginia

Radford, John P. . . . . XVI 17-37
Delicate Space: Race and Residence in Charleston, South Carolina, 1860-1880

Rehder, John B. . . . . XII 78-
Sugar Plantations in Louisiana: Origin, Dispersal, and Responsible Location Factors

Rehder, John B., John Morgan, and Joy L. Medford XVIII 75-83
The Decline of Smokehouses in Grainger County, Tennessee

Robertson, Alec . . . . . III 20-33
Britain, Europe, and the Atlantic Alliance

Saffer, Marian . . . . . XVIII 101-114
Technological Analysis of Some Sapelo Island Pottery: Social and/or Functional Differences

Schaer, Walter . . . . . XX 73-92
Tacit Environmental Interactions

Sellen, Robert . . . . . XI 1-9
National Interests and the Diplomat's Role in Nineteenth Century United States Foreign Policy

Sellen, Robert W. . . . . IX 57-98
Origins of the Cold War: An Historigraphical Survey

Shurbutt, T. Ray . . . . . XVII 37-48
The Personnel Approach to United States Relations with Chile, 1823-1850.

Simpkins, Daniel L. . . . . XVIII 61-75
A Preliminary Report on Test Excavations at the Sapelo Island Shell Ring, 1975

Smith, C. Jay . . . . . I 3-17
Russia Since 1945

Smith, T. Lynn . . . . . VI 119-126
A. P. Figueiredo

Southerland, James E. . . . . XI 18-25
John Forsyth and the Frustrated 1857 Mexican Loan and Land Grab

Spaak, Paul-Henri . . . . . IX 3-15
The Crisis of the Atlantic Alliance

Stern, Mark . . . . . XIV 31-40
The Interlocking of Power and Morality: C. Wright Mills' **The Power Elite**

Thomas, Alfred B. . . . . I 31-41
Latin America, Communism and the Changing World

Thomas, Elaine F. . . . . VIII 40-45
Some American Negro Artists

Thomson, Sandra C. and Clayton A. Coppin, Jr. . . . . XIII 65-80
Texts and Teaching: A Profile of Historians of American Foreign Relations in 1972

Tree, Marietta . . . . . V 46-53
Nationalism and Developing Internationalism in the United Nations

Turner, John J., Jr. . . . . XV 31-42
The Revolution, The Founding Fathers, and The Electoral College

Vanderhill, Burke G. and Frank A. Unger . . . . . XVI 59-72
Georgia's Crenelated County Boundaries

Vanderhill, Burke G. and Frank A. Unger . . . . . XVIII 59-73
The Georgia-Florida Land Boundary: Product of Controversy and Compromise

Vanderhill, Burke G. . . . . XII 59-77
The Historic Spas of Florida

Vinson, Betty A. . . . . II 65-76
Representative Government: Can and Should This Have a New Meaning for Georgians?

Vinson, J. Chal . . . . . IX 30-39
The Senate and Foreign Policy Since 1945: Operational, Optional, or Obsolete?

Vinson, J. Chalmers . . . . . V 54-65
Security in Our Time

Vosseller, A. B. . . . . III 3-19
The New Europe as Seen by an American Businessman

Wagner, Kenneth C. . . . . II 29-45
Industrial Change in Georgia: Problems, Implications and Prospects

Walker, Saunders E. . . . . VIII 6-13
Black Poetry for High Schools and Colleges

Walker, Warren A. . . . . VII 31-37
Does the Businessman have a Vested Interest in Community Development

Weatherbee, Donald E. . . . . V 18-32
The Spectrum of Insurgency in Southeast Asia: The Chinese Communist Revolutionary Model

Weaver, David C. . . . . XVIII 9-23
Spatial Strategies in Railroad Planning in Georgia and the Carolinas, 1830-1860

Whittemore, Kenneth R. . . . . VII 55-59
The Local Community and Mental Health

Wieder, D. Lawrence . . . . . XX 16-25
Some Historians Methods in the Analysis of Thought

Wilhelm, Barbara R. . . . . XV 43-54
The American Revolution as a Leadership Crisis: The View of a Hardware Store Owner

Wilms, Douglas C. . . . . XVI 1-15
Agrarian Progress in the Cherokee Nation Prior to Removal

Wood, Jerome H., Jr. . . . . XV 91-106
"There Ought To Be No Distinction:" The American Revolution and the Powerless

Cost: $2,597
500 copies

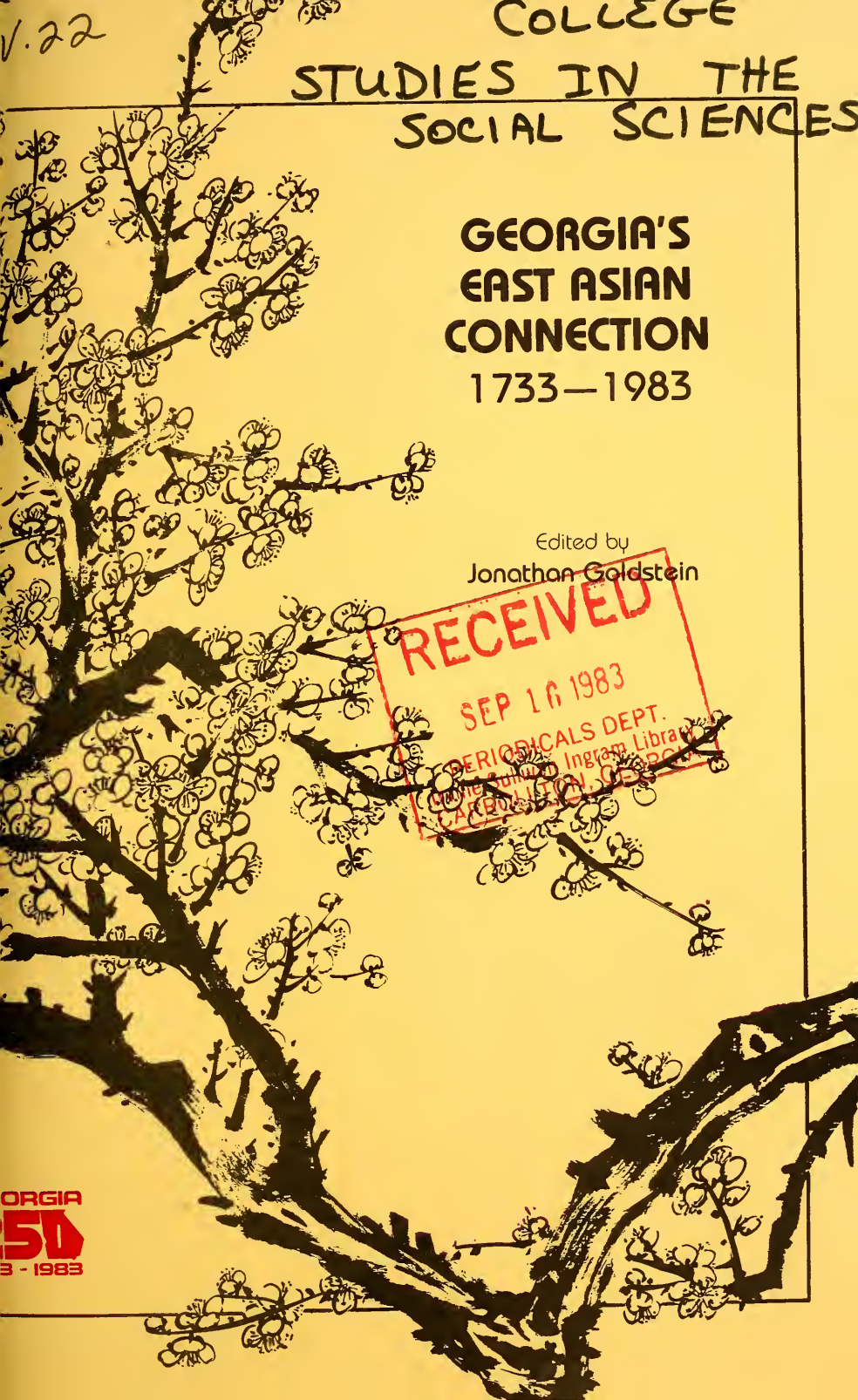
V.22

COLLEGE STUDIES IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

GEORGIA'S EAST ASIAN CONNECTION 1733—1983

Edited by
Jonathan Goldstein

RECEIVED
SEP 16 1983
PERIODICALS DEPT.
Milne Suitland Ingram Library
CARROLLTON, GEORGIA



ORGIA
250
3 - 1983

WEST GEORGIA COLLEGE
STUDIES IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Volume XXII **June 1983**

GEORGIA'S EAST ASIAN CONNECTION, 1733-1983

JONATHAN GOLDSTEIN
Volume Editor

CONTENTS

Page

Foreword by *Robert Claxton, West Georgia College; General Editor, Studies in the Social Sciences* v

Preface by *Jonathan Goldstein, West Georgia College; Volume Editor of Issue on "Georgia's East Asian Connection, 1733-1983"* ix

I. The Historical Experience: East Asians in Georgia

A. Historical Documents Relating to Asian-Americans and to East Asia in the Atlanta Regional Archives Branch, by *Gayle Peters, Atlanta Regional Archives Branch; Jonathan Goldstein, West Georgia College; and Merlin Kirk, West Georgia College* 3

B. History of the Chinese in Savannah, Georgia, by *George B. Pruden, Jr., Armstrong State College* 13

C. The Augusta, Georgia Chinese: 1865-1980, by *Catherine Brown, University of Georgia, and Thomas Ganschow, University of Georgia* 27

D. The Expulsion of Loo Chang from Waynesboro: A Case Study of Sinophobia in Georgia in 1883, by *Bess Beatty, Shorter College* 43

II. The Historical Experience: Georgians in East Asia

A. John Elliot Ward: A Georgia Elitist in the Celestial Empire, 1858-60, by *William M. Gabard, Valdosta State College* 53

B. William L. Scruggs: A Georgian as U.S. Consul in China, 1879-81, by *Dale Peeples, Valdosta State College* 63

C. Feminism and Methodist Missionary Activity in China: The Experience of Atlanta's Laura Haygood, 1884-1900, by *Linda Madson Papageorge, Kennesaw College* 71

III. The Contemporary Experience and the Future

A. Georgia, Atlanta, and the East Asian World: An Economist's View of Interactions Since World War II, *by Ernest W. Ogram, Institute of International Business, Georgia State University* 81

B. Prospects for Japan-Georgia Trade: The Viewpoint of a Trade Official, *by Day Lancaster, Tokyo office, Georgia Department of Industry and Trade* 87

C. Japan, Georgia, and the Japan-America Society of Georgia: The Viewpoint of Its Executive Director, *by George Waldner, Japan-America Society and Oglethorpe University* 95

D. History of the United States-China People's Friendship Association of Atlanta, *by Edward S. Krebs, author, Liu Ssu-fü and Chinese Anarchism, 1905-16* 101

TITLES IN PRINT

$2.00 each:

Vol. VIII, 1969, *Some Aspects of Black Culture.*

Vol. XI, 1972, *Georgia Diplomats and Nineteenth Century Trade Expansion.*

Vol. XIII, 1974, *American Diplomatic History: Issues and Methods.*

$3.00 each:

Vol. XIV, 1975, *Political Morality, Responsiveness, and Reform in America.*

Vol. XV, 1976, *The American Revolution: The Home Front.*

Vol. XVI, 1977, *Essays on the Human Geography of the Southeastern United States.*

Vol. XVIII, 1979, *The Southeastern United States: Essays on the Cultural and Historical Landscape.*

$4.00 each:

Vol. XIX, 1980, *Sapelo Papers: Researches in the History and Prehistory of Sapelo Island, Georgia.*

Vol. XX, 1981, *Games Without Frontiers: Essays for a Protean Sociology.*

Vol. XXI, 1982, *Supply-Side Economics: Pro and Con.*

Copyright 1983, West Georgia College

Printed in U.S.A.

Nell's Composition and Typesetting, Carrollton, Georgia 30117

Price, $4.00

($1.00 discount per copy with standing orders or orders of ten or more to one address.)

COVER ILLUSTRATION: The plum flower is the national flower of China. It symbolizes purity, endurance, and loyalty because it blooms at the coldest time of the year. Cover and original art work by Prof. Lee-jan Jan of West Georgia College. Dr. Jan is a Chinese-trained sociologist who has also studied Chinese painting under three masters in Taiwan. His work hangs in public and private collections, including the Georgia Institute of Technology Student Center Art Gallery.

Cost: $3,175
500 copies

ISSN 0081-8682

Peony. National flower of China's artistic golden age, the Tang Dynasty, 618-906 A.D.

Foreword

The year 1983 marks the 50th anniversary of the founding of West Georgia College and the 250th year of Georgia's existence. The publication of this issue of *Studies in the Social Sciences* is an official semiquincentenary event. The "Georgia-East Asia Connection" is one aspect of the theme "from the old world to the whole world." The purpose of this volume is to identify examples of the connection, to begin to explore some of them, and to encourage further investigation of other ties. Hopefully, this volume will have value both for the general reader in Georgia as well as serious social scientists interested in foreign relations.

For residents of western Georgia, the East Asia linkages are numerous. West Georgia College has had a number of Asian students as well as some Asian-American faculty members. Some Carrolltonians have visited China and Japan as tourists in recent years. Among those were the thirty-one member group which the West Georgia College Alumni Association sponsored, and which Professor Jonathan Goldstein organized and led, in September 1982. (See photo accompanying this article.) Many area teachers first learned Asian history from West Georgia's inspiring Professor Floyd Hoskins. Japanese style has an influence upon the architecture of some Carrollton homes. The city has two Chinese restaurants and one oriental grocery store. The city's principal industry is one of the largest wire and rod factories in the world. Southwire sells rod production machinery in the Republic of Korea, Taiwan, and Malaysia, and in 1983 sent a sales mission to China. In addition, at a time when Japanese technology seems to be deluging the American market, Southwire is exporting its technology for continuous casting of copper to Japan.

1982 West Georgia College Alumni Association Tour of China and Japan, at mud-doll factory (*ni wawa gongchang*), Wuxi, China. Tour was organized and led by WGC History Professor Jonathan Goldstein, seated third from left. WGC Learning Resources Center.

On a statewide level, the "Georgia-East Asia Connection" means acupuncture, kung fu movies, karate studios, and kudzu creeping over the countryside. East Asian textiles, housewares, cars, cameras, and motorcycles also accentuate the connection. So do ongoing Georgia church missionary endeavors as well as the memories of Georgia veterans of the Asian/Pacific theatre of World War II, Korea, and Indochina.

Atlanta's international importance includes Asian ties. Japan and the Republic of Korea maintain consulates there, and Taiwan maintains a large but not officially recognized representational office. Deng Xiaoping made Georgia's capital part of his 1979 itinerary. The city's theaters show serious Japanese films. One can sample Thai, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, Szechuanese, Hunanese, Cantonese, Mandarin, and Chinese-American cuisine in restaurants. Many Asian-owned businesses operate in Atlanta as well as in the state's smaller urban centers.

The "Georgia-East Asia Connection" has also been significant historically. According to researcher Laura Palmer Bell, the plan of Beijing (Peking) inspired Savannah's designers.* Benjamin Franklin sought to improve colonial Georgia's agricultural mainstay by sending samples of Vietnamese rice he had obtained in London. On the other hand, Chinese cotton production in the 1860s undermined the Confederate hope that British dependence on the Southern supply would result in diplomatic recognition. Chinese laborers dug the Augusta canal. In 1836 Macon's Georgia Female College (today's Wesleyan), became the first college chartered to award degrees to women. Among its alumnae were the three Song sisters. Ailing married H.H. Kong who was governor of the Central Bank of China in the 1930s. Qingling married Sun Zhongshan (Sun Yat-sen), founder of the Republic of China in 1911; widowed, she later became Honorary President of the People's Republic of China. Meiling, on the other hand, was the wife of Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek), arch-foe of the People's

Republic. Macon is also the home of Mercer University. United States China diplomat John Carter Vincent graduated from Mercer in 1923. John Birch was another Mercer alumnus. Some years after his death in China, avid conservatives founded the society that bears his name. During the Korean War, Georgia's Dean Rusk served as Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs; during the Vietnam War, he was Secretary of State.

Occasions for Georgia-China people-to-people cooperation are increasing. In 1982, personnel from Georgia's Oglethorpe Power Corporation advised their Chinese counterparts about rural electrification. In 1983, Chinese physicians worked with Atlanta's Center for Disease Control to find answers to a shared problem: the high incidence of cardio-vascular disease both in coastal Georgia and in a specific region of China. In April 1983 China announced that it would send an exhibition of historic Chinese scientific artifacts to Atlanta in 1984 to celebrate the centennial of Georgia Institute of Technology.

With both an interest in past relationships between Georgia and East Asia, and an awareness of the potential for stronger ties in the future, *Studies in the Social Sciences* devotes this issue to "Georgia's East Asia Connection." The General Editor and the Volume Editor of this issue wish to express their sincere gratitude to the following people without whose assistance the issue could not have come about: W. Allyn Rickett, University of Pennsylvania; Frank Joseph Shulman, University of Maryland Library; Kenneth Berger, Duke University Library; John D. Welsh, Georgia Department of Industry and Trade; and Albert S. Hanser and Jerome T. Mock, West Georgia College. Special words of appreciation must be extended to Lisa Daniels and Peggy Coleman who typed and retyped the manuscripts this volume contains. Even here one finds a Georgia East-Asia connection since Mrs. Coleman grew up in the Republic of Korea.

Robert H. Claxton
General Editor

---

*This journal uses the *pinyin*, or phonetic, method of romanizing Chinese. *Pinyin* is China's official system of romanization. In each article of this journal, the name more familiar to Westerners is placed in brackets alongside the Chinese name where it first occurs, but not subsequently. Example: Beijing (Peking).

Bamboo. Traditional Chinese symbol of scholarship.

Preface to the Issue, "Georgia's East Asian Connection, 1733-1983"

While historians have extensively explored the impact of the United States on East Asia, East Asia's impact on the United States, and on the American South specifically, is a much less explored theme. Historians of both the American South and of American-East Asian relations have generally neglected the South's role in American-East Asian relations.

Perhaps these omissions have occurred because of a traditional, pro-Western bias on the part of American historians. In 1983 Georgia is celebrating the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary not only of its founding, but also of its contact with East Asia. With America's transpacific trade now exceeding the dollar value of our traditional transatlantic trade, with two hundred and fifty years of Georgian-East Asian interaction behind us, the time seems right to raise the question: what has been the nature of the historical ties between Georgia and East Asia, and what are the prospects for future ties?

This is the general question addressed in this issue. The relations between Georgia and East Asia have existed on multiple levels. Direct people-to-people contacts have formed as East Asians have migrated to, and in some cases settled in, Georgia. Individual Georgians have also gone to East Asia to travel and settle. Newspaper and other media accounts of what East Asian cultures were like have contributed to Georgia's awareness of East Asia. International commerce and diplomatic relations have been two additional levels of contact between Georgia and East Asia.

This publication is a multi-disciplinary effort to derive the significance of Georgia's East Asian connection. Because of the varied nature of the ties themselves, the editor of this volume has enlisted a variety of experts to evaluate the ties. Contributors to this issue include six professors of East Asian history, one graduate student in East Asian history, one graduate student in anthropology with a strong background in geography, three professors of American history, an economist who is also a professor of international business, a U.S. Government archivist in the State of Georgia, and a State of Georgia international trade official.

These experts focus on three specific aspects of Georgia-East Asia ties. Hence the three sections of this journal. Section one deals with the historical experiences and difficulties faced by the Chinese, the earliest East Asian immigrants to Georgia, in Savannah, Augusta, and Waynesboro. Section two offers analyses of the experience of Georgia pioneers in

nineteenth century China: an ex-Savannah mayor who served as the first U.S. diplomatic representative to Beijing (Peking); a low-level career diplomat from Atlanta who served as a U.S. consul in China; and a female educator from Atlanta who helped establish Southern Methodist missionary programs in Shanghai. Section three leaps to the post-World War II period. It concerns Georgia's recent ties not only with China, but also with Japan, the Republic of Korea, and Taiwan. Prospects for the future are examined, in terms of people-to-people contacts which have been achieved through individual travel and immigration, East Asian investment in Georgia and Georgian investment in East Asia, and official federal, state, and municipal government relationships.

The first article in section one is a bibliographical survey of documents in Atlanta's Federal government records depository which might shed light on Georgia's East Asian connection. The Atlanta Federal Archives Branch is the largest repository in Georgia of East Asia-related records. A survey of its archival holdings has been made through the joint efforts of its resident archivist, who is also a specialist on American history and international relations; a professor of East Asian history; and a West Georgia College graduate student interning at the Atlanta branch to assist in the survey of Asian-related documents. The article suggests what types of records are available for specific types of research on East Asia-related topics. Brief descriptions are given of the branch's United States census records; naturalization records and other federal court documents; Customs Service passenger lists; Selective Service System documents; and State, War, and Navy Department papers. The histories of the Savannah, Augusta, and Waynesboro Chinese in this volume are examples of the type of demographic history of Asian-Americans which can be written using United States census data and federal court records along with other sources. The two articles on Georgia diplomats are examples of what can be discovered using National Archives diplomatic documents.

Professor Pruden is a specialist in East Asian history. His article on Savannah establishes the origins of Georgia's East Asian connection, tracing the interaction back to Oglethorpe and the earliest Georgians' awareness of China. Pruden then probes the question of how the experiences of Chinese immigrants in nineteenth-century Savannah compared with previously established race relationships. Did the Chinese assimilate or remain distinctive within a Chinatown? Why? What was the role of the Christian Church in the Chinese community? How were the Chinese accepted as citizens by the Caucasian and black Savannahians? Pruden has used local newspaper accounts, interviews and city directories, along with federal census data, to reconstruct the history of the Savannah Chinese. He discusses their reasons for emigration, areas of settlement, education, and economic mobility. His data is tabulated in an appendix.

Pruden then deals with the twentieth century, incorporating vivid anecdotes, and even a poem, to provide a picture of the Chinese settlement in Savannah. He offers mini-biographies of some typical and atypical Savannah Chinese: Robert Chung Chan, the first Chinese to establish a family in Savannah; his poet-daughter Gerald (neé, Geraldine) Sieg; the entrepreneur T.S. Chu; and the scholar-politician K.C. Wu. In mingling anecdotes with demographic data Pruden presents a scholarly and lucid history of an American settlement, in the manner of Librarian of Congress Daniel Boorstin in his classic history *Americans: The National Experience*.

Brown and Ganschow, like Pruden, also have utilized census data, city directories and media accounts to reconstruct a profile of a Chinese settlement. Brown, drawing upon a background in both geography and anthropology, and Ganschow, a professor of Chinese history, have attempted to isolate historical and socio-economic development patterns of Augusta Chinese. Both authors are concerned with the questions: Did the Chinese come South after the Civil War to replace black slaves? Was it an accidental or a planned migration? What was the response of Southerners to Chinese, and vice versa? Were the patterns of discrimination transferred from blacks to Chinese? What were the increases or decreases in the Chinese population? What were the scholastic achievements and the shifts in residential and occupational patterns? To what degree were Chinese socially accepted,

i.e., allowed to move into white neighborhoods? How did patterns within Augusta's Chinese community compare with patterns elsewhere in the nation? This data is tabulated in five appendixes to the article. Like Pruden, Brown and Ganschow liven their demographic data with anecdotal material such as the account of the murder of Chinese grocer Yip Sing in Augusta in 1896 and his Baptist burial service in Augusta's "white-only" cemetery.

Beatty, an American historian with a strong background in black and labor history, is concerned with the origins and significance of the "Ku Kluxing," or forcible expulsion, of Loo Chang, Waynesboro's first Chinese resident. Beatty attempts to place the Waynesboro experience within the broader context of early American sinophobia and prejudice, and compares her findings with those of Luther Spoehr, Stuart Miller, Gunter Barth, Mary Coolidge, Carey McWilliams, and other historians of sinophobia and prejudice. Beatty's interest is largely in Loo Chang's legal status, and she has drawn on federal and county court records, as well as census data, to conclude that an "interchangeability of prejudice" may have gravitated in Georgia from blacks to Chinese. She examines the economic threat Chinese merchants may have posed to Caucasian businessmen in Georgia. Beatty postulates that demonstrations of southern racism and sinophobia such as occurred in Waynesboro in 1883 may explain why so few Chinese immigrants came South.

As Chinese began to settle in Georgia in the mid-nineteenth century, Georgians began to visit, and occasionally settle, in East Asia. In describing the careers of three nineteenth century Georgia pioneers in China, Professors Gabard, Peeples, and Papageorge attempt to evaluate the success of these pioneers in terms of the background and goals of each individual and the broad context of American-East Asian relations in which each of the individuals operated.

Gabard, a professor of East Asian history with a sub-specialty in Georgia history, evaluates the career of Savannah mayor John Elliott Ward, America's diplomatic representative in China from 1858 through 1860. Gabard details religious, economic, and political influences of a Georgia background on the conscience and conduct of a diplomat. Ward held close ties with the Episcopal Church in Savannah, with the Episcopal Bishop in Georgia, and indirectly with that Bishop's brother-in-law, the Episcopal Bishop in China. Once in China, Ward continued his associations with clerics, especially with the Reverend S. Wells Williams, who served as interim U.S. chargé d'affaires until Ward arrived, and with the Reverends W.A.P. Martin and William Aitchinson, who served as interpreters for Ward's legation. Beyond religious influences, Gabard is concerned with the degree to which the international trade, travel, and naval contacts of Savannah familiarized Ward with East Asia. Gabard explores the general sociological question of the degree to which the decorum of Southern gentlemanly conduct affected Ward's behavior in his official duties in the alien environment of China.

Ward was an ex-mayor sent on a high-level pioneering mission by President Buchanan in 1858. Professor Peeples, an American diplomatic historian, describes the career of a low-level Foreign Service Officer, Atlantan William Scruggs. Scruggs served in China two decades after Ward, at a time when official Sino-American relations had evolved from an exploratory and experimental level to a more routine level of contact. Scruggs apparently received little personal satisfaction while working diligently to improve the consulates to which he was assigned. Scruggs is sympathetically portrayed as a hard working civil servant who endured physical illness, disappointment, and homesicknesses during a two year consulship in Zhenjiang and Guangzhou.

Professor Papageorge, an American historian, focuses on Atlanta's innovative feminist missionary-educator Laura Haygood, and sees her as anything but a plodding bureaucrat. Papageorge poses the questions: What type of missionary work was open to Victorian women? What kinds of women entered the field and why? What was the nature of a missionary woman's spiritual consciousness? On what terms did she participate with men in the movement? To what degree did her participation affect the East Asian society she hoped to convert? Although Haygood's ultimate ambition of Christianizing China is

unfulfilled, she emerges as an originator, a zealot, and a pioneer.

The last word in Professor Beatty's article on the nineteenth century is sinophobia. Professors Gabard, Peeples, and Papageorge all focused on the efforts of Georgians to expand American influence and ideas in East Asia — an expansion advanced through vigorous commercial, diplomatic, missionary, and military effort. In the nineteenth century, American values were clearly being thrust on East Asians, both stateside and overseas. In the third and final section of this journal, Ernest Ogram establishes an overall transition from the pre-World War II era of Georgia's East Asia connection, characterized by sinophobia and imperialism, to new and changing dimensions of the connection in the postwar era. Ogram is an economist specializing in international business relations. He sees trade as a dominant, enduring theme in the Georgia-East Asia interaction. Ogram describes new types of business relationships which have been cultivated by Georgians not only with China but also with Japan, Taiwan, and the Republic of Korea. How did those World War II-ravaged, but now rebuilt, societies come to have dealings with Georgia, and we with them? What is the nature of our recent commercial ties? Ogram begins his article on the macro-economic level, discussing overall post-World War II United States-East Asian trade. He then proceeds micro-economically to a discussion of trade relations between East Asia and the Southeastern United States; Georgia; and the metropolitan Atlanta area. He compares Georgia's and Atlanta's East Asian trade with that of other regions of the United States. He documents how East Asian nations are increasing their commitments in Georgia generally and in the Atlanta area specifically with an increasing number of stores, restaurants, factories, trading companies, banks, airlines, honorary consulates, career consulates, and government trade and travel offices. These enterprises have brought Georgia an East Asian population which now numbers in the Atlanta area alone in the tens of thousands, with significant presences of Koreans, Japanese, Taiwanese, and scholars from the People's Republic of China. Ogram speculates optimistically on post-nineteenth century trade relations and on people-to-people contacts between Georgia and East Asia.

Ogram's transitional piece is followed by three specialized monographs on contemporary Georgia-East Asian relations. Day Lancaster, head of the Tokyo office of the Georgia Department of Industry and Trade, cites particulars of the new post-World War II Japan-Georgia relationship which Orgam alluded to. Lancaster examines to what degree Georgia firms have invested in Japan and why; what types of Japanese businesses are locating in Georgia; and what are some of the cultural spinoffs of the commercial contact, such as sister-city relations between Japanese and Georgian metropolises. He also warns of potential imbalances and dangers in this recent relationship.

Japanese history professor George Waldner, Executive Director of the Japan-America Society of Georgia, and Chinese historian Edward Krebs, of the United States-China People's Friendship Organization, each analyze the history of an internationally-oriented people-to-people friendship group in Atlanta. Both the Japan-America Society of Georgia and the Atlanta chapter of the United States-China People's Friendship Association are by-products of diplomatic and commercial ties between Georgia and East Asia. Both organizations provide hospitality for East Asians in Atlanta on temporary or long term assignments. Both groups seek to promote native Georgians' friendship toward and understanding of the two largest, but sometimes misunderstood, East Asian nations.

Although both organizations today represent a level of international cooperation and friendship unachieved in the nineteenth century, they nevertheless contrast markedly with each other. The Japan Society, with close ties to the Coca-Cola Company, operates from an impressive financial base, with paid staff and rented offices in the Colony Square highrise office tower. USCPFA, as its name may suggest, is more of a low profile organization which lacks corporate support. Krebs describes how Georgians interested in China at a key historical juncture were able to establish an organization through grass roots recruiting. The resources of the new organization frequently amounted to little more than the organizers' own personal enthusiasm, which had in some cases been generated by eye-opening visits to

the People's Republic of China. Krebs describes an organization which has evolved largely independent of the goals and interests which many Georgians have traditionally had in East Asia: the pursuit of money, strategic power, and/or converts to Christianity. Kreb's account prompts the reader to consider the possibility that the China Friendship Association may be the most successful institutional example of close personal ties between Georgians and East Asians in two hundred and fifty years of interaction. What would Loo Chang say if he could attend a Friendship Association reception in Atlanta for scholars from a proud and independent China?

This issue on "Georgia's East Asian Connection, 1733-1983" emphasizes the progress achieved in spite of hardships during the interaction. It notes the ideological passions with which we as Georgians have come to view East Asia and with which East Asians have come to view us. At a time when these relations have escalated to critical levels in terms of competition for technological leadership and markets, these topics deserve to be explored with the candor provided by serious scholarship. Hopefully, this volume will inspire an ongoing dialogue on the nature of Georgia's past and present East Asian connection.

JONATHAN GOLDSTEIN
Assistant Professor of History
West Georgia College
Volume Editor

The Historical Experience: East Asians in Georgia

Day lily. Traditional Chinese symbol for respect for one's parents.

Historical Documents Relating to Asian-Americans and to East Asia in the Atlanta Regional Archives Branch

GAYLE PETERS, JONATHAN GOLDSTEIN, AND MERLIN KIRK*

The Atlanta Regional Archives is one of eleven regional archives branches of Washington, D.C.'s National Archives of the United States. A system of regional branches was established in 1969, when the National Archives created a network of archival repositories to enhance access to historically-valuable records created by regional and field offices of the federal government. Regional branches were established in Boston, New York City, Philadelphia, Atlanta, Chicago, Kansas City, Fort Worth, Denver, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Seattle. The records deposited in the Atlanta branch come from federal agencies in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee. The holdings of the Atlanta branch consist of approximately 34,000 cubic feet of identified archives dating from 1716 through 1983, most of which are available to researchers.

---

*Since 1972, Gayle Peters has been regional archivist in Atlanta for the National Archives and Records Service. He previously served as archivist in the Lyndon Johnson Presidential Library, Austin, Texas. He received a B.A. in history from Carroll College in 1967, and an M.A. in Latin American studies from University of Texas in 1969. He has published "The Regional Archives System and its East Point Branch" in *Georgia Archive* 1, No. 2 (Spring 1973). Professor Goldstein teaches East Asian history at West Georgia College. He received his Ph.D. in American-East Asian relations in 1973 from the University of Pennsylvania, where he studied under Hilary Conroy. He has published *Philadelphia and the China Trade 1682-1846* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1978), and articles in *Korea Focus* and *Ch'ing-shih wen-t'i*. Merlin Kirk received a B.A. in social studies education from Southwest Missouri State University in 1974. He is an M.A. candidate in East Asian history at West Georgia College, and has worked as an intern at the Atlanta Regional Archives Branch under the supervision of Mr. Peters and Dr. Goldstein.

In an effort to make additional important documents in Washington's National Archives more accessible to researchers, the National Archives has engaged in a program of depositing in each of the regional archives branches collections of microfilm copies of significant records in National Archives custody. These microfilmed records contain basic documentation for ethnic, political, and economic history, international relations, political science, law, and genealogy. The additional documents comprise an important part of the Atlanta branch's holdings. Some 26,000 microfilm rolls of such records are available for inspection in the research room at the Atlanta Federal Archives and Records Center, 1557 St. Joseph Avenue, East Point, Georgia, 30344. Information about hours and services can be obtained by writing the Atlanta branch or calling (404) 763-7477.

United States Census Records

The articles in this journal by Pruden, Brown, Ganschow, and Beatty on the Chinese settlements in Savannah, Augusta, and Waynesboro, Georgia, are examples of the type of historical research on Asian-Americans which can be performed using United States census data such as is available in the Atlanta branch. A census of the United States population has been required by law every ten years since 1790. The Atlanta branch has microfilm copies of the 1790 through 1880 censuses; the 1900 and 1910 censuses; and fragments of the 1890 census, which was largely destroyed by a 1921 fire. The 1790-1840 censuses included the name, age, and state, territory, or country of birth of each free person in a household. The censuses of 1850-80 included a list of those persons who died between June of the previous year and June of the census year. Although the Atlanta branch does not own copies of Georgia's 1850-80 mortality lists, such information is readily available on interlibrary loan from the Fort Worth, Texas, Archives branch.

Some information from the 1920-80 censuses must legally be withheld from public access for seventy years, in the interest of individual privacy. Nevertheless, there is an abundance of available information for historians wishing to reconstruct residential, occupational, and other social patterns within Asian-American communities in Georgia as Pruden, Brown, Ganschow, and Beatty have done.

Federal Court Records

Federal court records are a second type of document useful for reconstructing the history of immigrants to Georgia from East Asia.

Court records contain notice of naturalization, or the process whereby an alien became a United States citizen. In the 1700s and 1800s a naturalization oath could be administered in a federal, state, or local court. Therefore, these records are often difficult to locate. The Atlanta branch has federal circuit and district court records for Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee, Florida, and North and South Carolina generally covering the years 1789-1955. The branch also stores indexes for 1790-1906 South Carolina federal courts and for the Savannah, Georgia, federal courts from 1790-1860. If a researcher knows the court and the approximate date, federal court records of an immigrant's naturalization can be readily checked. The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service also has naturalization records from 1906 to the present and can be contacted directly.

The Atlanta branch's judicial records can also be a source of information for scholars interested in the constitutional status of Asian-Americans in Georgia. One example of this type of research is Professor Beatty's account in this journal of litigation concerning the expulsion of Loo Chang from Waynesboro in 1883.

U.S. Customs' Passenger Lists

Ship passenger lists are a third source useful for reconstructing immigration patterns from Asia and elsewhere. The Atlanta branch has microfilm copies of some ship passenger lists for Atlantic and Gulf Coast ports for 1820-73, including Charleston (1820-28), Mobile (1832-52), and Savannah (1820-31 and 1847-68). The National Archives has other passenger list records on microfilm which may be purchased or viewed in Washington.

Selective Service System Records

World War I draft registration cards are a fourth type of document which may be useful for the professional historian of Asian-American communities, as well as for the genealogist. Registration cards corroborate address and age information for individuals in Georgia and elsewhere in the United States. The Atlanta branch has cards for most of the 24 million men who registered for the draft in 1917-18. The drafts were held as follows: (1) June 5, 1917 - registered all men between ages of 21 and 31; (2) June 5, 1918 - registered all men who had become 21 since June 5, 1917; and (3) September 12, 1918 - registered all men between the ages of 18 and 21 and 31 to 45.

These records are filed by draft board. In order to search them, the full name of the person and his address at the time of registration is necessary. For large cities a street address is necessary. For other areas the name of the county is usually sufficient. A photocopy of both sides of the draft card can be furnished for a fee.

The draft cards for some states (not Georgia) have been sent to other Archives branches for microfilming. The Atlanta branch presently stores cards for all states except Oregon, Rhode Island, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, Wyoming, West Virginia and Wisconsin.

State Department Records on East Asia

In addition to census, federal court, ship passenger, and Selective Service System records on Asian-Americans, the Atlanta branch has a wealth of State Department information on state-to-state relations between the United States and nations and dependencies in East Asia and the Pacific Ocean. The places for which the Atlanta branch has information includes: China and foreign colonies within China; Japan; Korea; Asiatic Russia, including Alaska before its purchase by the United States; Burma; Thailand; Indochina; Malaysia; Singapore; Brunei; Indonesia; the Philippines; the Hawaiian Islands; Tonga; Samoa; Tahiti; Fiji; New Britain Island; and the U.S. Trust Territory of the Pacific.

State Department documents in the Atlanta branch, like the four other types of records already described, contain an abundance of information on Asian and Pacific immigration to Georgia and to the United States. Additionally, the diplomatic documents are treasure troves of information on political and economic relations between Georgia and East Asia and the United States and East Asia from the time of te Continental Congress (1774) to the present. Diplomatic documents concern some of the most significant events in American-East Asian relations between 1774 and 1929: the first Sino-American Treaty (1844); Commodore Matthew Perry's 1853-54 opening of Japan for the United States, and subsequent U.S.-Japanese treaties; the United States purchase of Russian America; changes in ownership of Taiwan; the Russo-Japanese War; the Bolshevik Revolution; and U.S. armed intervention in Asiatic Russia. Letters, notes, and diaries which are included in these records reflect the involvement of both U.S. government officials and of private citizens in East Asia since 1774. Diplomats, explorers, soldiers, sailors, journalists, businessmen, missionaries, "special agents", and Presidents are mentioned in these records, along with their hopes, fears, and plans.

These microfilms also contain information about Asian governments and individuals, European colonial powers with real or desired empires in Asia, and American viewpoints of those European desires.

These records can be used to study diplomatic history: the opening of relations with Japan; the treatment of China by the United States and European powers; and American perceptions of its role as an "Imperial Power." Territorial expansion of the American nation into the Pacific can be traced: Manifest Destiny; the purchase of Alaska; and the acquisition of Samoa, Hawaii, the Philippines, Guam, Wake, and other Pacific Islands.

The development of Japan from a medieval to a modern state may be seen in records dating from Perry's trip, through Japan's late nineteenth century controversy with the United States over Japanese immigration.

Military adventures and activities are presented in reports on the Opium War, the Boxer Rebellion, Japan's wresting of Taiwan from China, the Spanish-American War in the Philippines, the Russo-Japanese War, and the Asian campaigns of World War I, especially

the Allied armed intervention in Asiatic Russia in 1918. Foreign trade of individual nations is reported in United States consular, ministerial, and ambassadorial despatches.

The articles by Gabard and Peeples, in this journal, are but two examples of the type of historical research on American-East Asian relations that can be done using the National Archives' diplomatic records. These professional historians have been able to reconstruct the lives and careers of two Georgia diplomats active in China, and to ascribe some historical significance to their government service. Apart from the articles of Gabard and Peeples, it is unfortunate that the type of diplomatic document pertaining to East Asia which is available in Atlanta has been under-utilized by Georgia college students and scholars. Researchers can use the unexamined documents in the Atlanta branch for writing undergraduate and graduate research papers, monographs, and scholarly books in East Asian history.

To encourage more scholars to use East Asian diplomatic documents, the Atlanta branch has made a conscious and costly effort to acquire even more microfilmed records pertaining to East Asia than are owned by its ten sister branches. Some fifteen microfilmed publications on China, Japan, and Korea exist in Atlanta and in no other Archives branch.[1]

War Department Records Relating to East Asia

The Atlanta branch stores an abundance of United States War Department and War Department-related records about East Asia. These include: Records of the American Section of the Supreme War Council, 1917-19; Historical files of the American Expeditionary Forces in Siberia, 1918-20; Historical information relating to military posts, 1700-1900; Documents of the War Department's Bureau of Insular Affairs relating to the Philippines and other insular possessions of the United States, 1876-1906; and Records pertaining to Axis Relations and Interests in the Far East 1933-45.[2]

Navy Department Records Relating to East Asia

The Navy Department records in the Atlanta branch are an especially varied and useful source of information for the researcher on Asian and Pacific history. The first collection of records deals with official exploration of the Pacific Ocean, especially the expedition around the perimeter of the Pacific Ocean by Lieutenant Charles Wilkes in 1832-42.[3] A second collection of records contain correspondence from commanders of the United States' Asiatic Squadron, reorganized variously as the Pacific and as the East India Squadron between 1841 and 1886. The letters from the Squadrons' commanding officers concern such key events in modern East Asian history as Commodore Matthew C. Perry's successful 1853-54 mission to open Japan to United States trade.[4]

In summary, the Atlanta branch is a storehouse of untapped resources for the Georgia researcher interested either in the Asian-American experience within his/her own state, or in the historical, economic, and political ties between Georgia and East Asia and the United States and East Asia. In this journal articles by Pruden, Brown, Ganschow, Beatty, Gabard and Peeples are examples of the type of history which can be written using the archival resources which the Federal Government has made available to every Georgian free of charge.

NOTES

[1]The catalog *National Archives Microfilm Publications* (Washington, D.C.; National Archives and Records Service, 1974 — with supplements) describes the total collection available in Washington. Many public and campus libraries have purchased microfilms from the National Archives and should be contacted concerning the extent and availability of their collection.

The microfilm publications are divided into two series identified by "M" numbers and "T" numbers. In general, records selected for filming as an "M" publication have high research value for a variety of studies, and the ratio of research value to volume is high. They are arranged so that scholars can glean information from the film copy easily. Usually each publication reproduces an entire series of records.

Most "M" publications have an introduction describing origin, content, and arrangement of the records filmed and listing related records. Some introductions include special aids, such as indexes or registers. Descriptive pamphlets are available for most "M" publications. The pamphlet contains the publications introduction (including special lists or indexes prepared to simplify the use of the microfilm publication) and the table of contents. These pamphlets are furnished to film purchasers and are available on request to prospective purchasers.

"T" publications supplement "M" publications. Unlike "M" publications, they are not usually a reproduction of a complete series of records; that is, they may be a segment, by date or subject, of a larger series. In many cases "T" publications were produced in response to a special reference request. Also, over the years the National Archives has received microfilm produced by other Federal agencies. Some of this film, when it is not defense classified and is deemed of sufficient research value, is made available for sale as "T" publications. These publications contain no introductions nor are descriptive pamphlets available for them.

Fifteen microfilm publications unavailable in other Regional Archive branches have been acquired by the Atlanta branch to support East Asian research in the Southeast. These publications include both State Department and War Department records:

Consular Despatches: Amoy, China 1844-1906, M 100, 15 rolls; Chungking (Chongqing), China, 1896-1906, M 104, 1 roll; Kanagawa, Japan, 1861-1897, M 135, 2 rolls; Seoul, Korea 1888-1906, M 167, 2 rolls; Yokohama, Japan, 1897-1906, M 136, 5 rolls.

Decimal File 1910-1929: China Internal Affairs, M 239, 227 rolls; China-U.S. Relations, M 339, 2 rolls; China-Other States, M 241, 34 rolls; Japan-Internal Affairs, M 422, 43 rolls; Japan-U.S. Relations, M 423, 9 rolls; Japan-Other States, M 424, 1 roll.

Other State Department Records: Relating to World War I and its termination, 1914-1929, M 367, 159 rolls; General Records of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, 1918-1931, M 820, 160 rolls; *War Department Records:* Historical Files of the Allied Expeditionary Forces-Siberia, M 917, 11 rolls; and Records of the American Section, Supreme War Council, M 923, 21 rolls.

The scope of the East Asian diplomatic documents available in Atlanta is vast chronologically and topically. The papers of the Continental Congress, 1774-89, contain occasional reference to East Asia, especially after 1783, when the first United States ship to China inaugurated extensive commerce between the two nations.

Papers of the Continental Congress are available as: 1774-1789, M 247, 204 rolls; miscellaneous papers of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789, M 332, 8 rolls; and foreign letters of the Continental Congress and the State Department, 1774-1789, M 61, 1 roll. A descriptive pamphlet is available. These papers make reference to the earliest contacts between the United States and East Asia following the first voyage of a United States vessel to China and back in 1783-84. The index to the papers of the Continental Congress reveals the following entries concerning East Asia: Canton-47 entries; China-41 entries; Conchin China-1 entry; East Indies-102 entries; East India companies-48 entries; Sea of Japan-2 entries.

M 28, 5 rolls, continues the "foreign letters" (M 61) of the papers of the Continental Congress, and contain record copies of communications addressed by the State Department to Diplomatic and Consular representatives abroad. Notices of appointments, approval or disapproval of proposals or actions, inquiries and information, transmittal letters conveying enclosures, or actual instructions, are included. While letters to representatives of European colonial powers constitute the vast majority of the correspondence, communications addressed to them may concern colonial East Asian activities and subjects. Only one East Asian post is listed: Canton (Guangzhou), 1793-1800.The earliest substantial body of documents in Atlanta concerning East Asia is the official correspondence between the State Department in Washington and its ambassadors in East Asia from 1789 to 1906. Copies of diplomatic instructions sent by the State Department to American representatives abroad give notices of appointments, convey information or inquiries, express approval or disapproval of proposals and actions, transmit enclosures, or present instructions. The Atlanta branch owns U.S. diplomatic instructions to ambassadors in China, Japan, Korea,Russia, Siam,and Hawaii. The branch also owns documents relating to special U.S. Diplomatic missions between 1833-1906 to Borneo, China,Cochin China, Hawaii, Japan, the Philippine Islands, Siam, and Tonga.

Most of the ambassadorial documents reflect economic or diplomatic relations of specific events in the area such as the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) or the Spanish American War (1898). Both diplomatic instructions from the State Department to ambassadors abroad, as well as diplomatic despatches sent by ministers and representatives back to the department, are stored in the Archives branch. Diplomatic despatches from each country have been kept separate and it is thus possible to quickly locate the flow of information each diplomat furnished the State Department. When the instructions are juxtaposed to the despatches, a researcher can gain insight into discussion and resolution of issues by ambassadors and by the Secretary of State. Despatches from United States diplomatic representatives in East Asian nations in the Archives branch include:

Despatches from United States Ministers to China, 1843-1906, M 92, 131 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. These communications concern China Proper, Manchuria, Tibet, Taiwan, Korea, the Spanish and U.S. Philippines, French Indochina and Asiatic Russia. The communications discuss the opening of treaty ports and extra-territorial rights of American citizens, the Opium War, Taiping

Rebellion, Sino-Japanese Wars, Boxer Rebellion, and requests for more U.S. Naval vessels in Chinese waters. Despatches also describe the problems of piracy, treatment of shipwrecked American seamen, protection of missionaries, Chinese emigration to and exclusion from the United States, claims of American citizens in China against the Chinese government, prohibition of the opium trade, the coolie trade, floods, famines, epidemics, shipping, trade, natural resources, agriculture, education, roads, river transport, mail service, the Trans-Siberian and other railroads, telephone and telegraph services. Enclosures consist of: notes to and from the Chinese Foreign Ministry, consular reports on commerce, pamphlets, newspapers, and confidential communications on sensitive events.

Despatches from United States ministers to Japan, 1855-1906, M 133, 82 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. These communications cover the Sino-Japanese and the Russo-Japanese Wars and changes in Japan's system of government. Enclosures include notes to and from the Japanese foreign ministry, reports from American consuls in Japan, letters from private U.S. citizens, newspapers, pamphlets, and confidential despatches.

Despatches from United States ministers to Korea, 1883-1905, M 134, 22 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. These communications contain notes to American representatives from the Korean foreign ministry and from private American citizens, letters from American representatives to Korean officials, pamphlets, and newspaper clippings.

Despatches from United States ministers to Russia, 1808-1906, M 35, 66 rolls. A roll list can be found at the beginning of the first roll. These despatches concern fishing disputes in the North Pacific, territorial disputes over Alaska and the northwest part of North America, the Russo-Japanese War, and the abortive Russian Revolution of 1905. Correspondence from the American consulate in Vladivostok, Asiatic Russia, is included.

Despatches from United States ministers to Siam, 1882-1906, M 172, 9 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. These communications contain notes from the Siamese Foreign Office with royal orders; announcements of court ceremonies; complaints against citizens and officials of the United States; pamphlets; newspapers; and confidential despatches. From 1882 to 1903, the posts of minister resident and consul general were combined. Only diplomatic, rather than consular communication, is reproduced.

References to East Asia can also be found in the Archives branch in correspondence between the State Department in Washington and U.S. ambassadors stationed in European nations with Asiatic colonies: Great Britain, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Portugal, Russia, and Spain.

The Atlanta branch also owns correspondence between the State Department and its consular representatives abroad. These papers are arranged by the name of the city or post, and describe economic, political, and social conditions. Many despatches are accompanied by copies of correspondence between consuls and local government officials, U.S. diplomatic representatives, non-U.S. consuls, U.S. Navy officers commanding vessels stationed in foreign waters, and American citizens abroad. The Archives branch owns copies of U.S. consular correspondence with the following East Asian cities:

Despatches from United States consuls in Amoy (Xiamen), China, 1844-1906, M 100, 15 rolls. An introduction can be found at the beginning of the first roll. These despatches contain reports from consular agencies at Tamsui (Tanshui), Keelung, (Jilong), Takao (Gaoxiong) and Taiwanfoo (Tainan, 1875-86; Taizhong, 1887-95), all on the island of Taiwan; as well as, for a brief period in the late 1870s, Swatow (Shantou), China. Many despatches enclose tables of consular fees received, arrivals and departures of American vessels, and trade statistics. Some despatches describe mutinies aboard American vessels, anti-foreign and anti-missionary disturbances, including the Boxer Rebellion, an anti-American boycott of 1905, shipment of Chinese contract laborers, epidemics, and the Xiamen tea trade. The papers are rich in materials concerning Taiwan which was under Chinese control until 1895, when it became a dependency of Japan. In addition to reports of journeys made to the island by various American consuls, there is material on an abortive punitive expedition of 1867, led by Rear Admiral Henry Bell, commanding the U.S. Asiatic Squadron. Also included is material on: Consul Charles Le Gendre's 1867 agreement with aboriginal tribes for the protection of shipwrecked sailors; an 1874 Japanese punitive expedition; and Japan's 1895 occupation of the island.

Despatches from United States consuls in Chungking (Chongqing) China, 1896-1906, M 104, 1 roll. Papers are arranged chronologically, with an introduction and register. This collection contains despatches from Chongqing, from 1896 to 1901, when the consulate closed; and from 1905-06.

Despatches from United States consuls in Kanagawa, Japan, 1861-1897, M 135, 22 rolls. A roll list can be found in the catalog: *National Archives Microfilm Publications,* p. 38.

Despatches from United States consuls in Yokohama, Japan, 1897-1906, M 136, 5 rolls. An introduction can be found at the beginning of the first roll. These records contain the Kanagawa post records (Kanagawa is a present-day suburb of Yokohama) found on M 135. The documents contain

communications sent from Yokohama during the period when that post was classified as a consulate general. The consular despatches cover trade statistics, arrivals and departures of American vessels, social and political conditions, and agricultural and industrial processes.

Despatches from United States consuls in Medan-Padang, Sumatra, 1853-1898, T 106, 2 rolls. A roll list can be found in the 1974 *National Archives Microfilm Publications* catalog, p. 42.

Despatches from United States consuls in Seoul, Korea, 1886-1906, M 167, 2 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. During the period covered by these despatches Seoul was a combined diplomatic and consular post of the Department of State. The ranking U.S. official held the title of Minister Resident and Consul General. These records contain only consular material.

Notes from foreign embassies in Washington to the State Department include communications from foreign ministries, heads of state, and private citizens. They also include copies of proclamations and newspapers. The Atlanta branch owns copies of notes to the State Department from the embassies of the following Asian and Pacific nations:

Notes from the Chinese legation, the Department of State, 1868-1906, M 98, 6 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available.

Notes from the Japanese legation, 1858-1906, M 163, 9 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. These notes include communications from Japanese rulers or officials of the Japanese foreign office to Presidents of the United States or to Secretaries of State.

Notes from the Korean legation, 1858-1906, M 166, 1 roll. The first roll contains an introduction and includes letters and telegrams from Korean rulers and officials to the President of the United States or to Secretaries of State as well as drafts of communications from American officials to Korean officials; memoranda of conversations; and drafts and texts of agreement of proposed agreements between Korea and the United States.

Notes from the Russian legation, 1809-1906, M 39, 12 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. These volumes contain letters of complaint against United States officials and citizens, pamphlets, and newspapers. The communications are in French; many are accompanied by English translations prepared by the Department of State. Included are some communications from Russian consular officials in the United States and from the Russian Chancellor; memoranda by the State Department officials commenting on the notes; and drafts and texts of agreements between Russia and the United States. The notes and their enclosures concern difficulties between the two countries over 'Russian America'; the position of the Greek Orthodox and Moravian Churches in Alaska, the purchase of Alaska in 1867; the Fur Seal Arbitration; the 'Open Sea' question; the cession of the Kurile Islands by Russia to Japan in exchange for the northern half of Sakhalin Island; the attitude of Russia toward the 1893 Hawaiian revolution; possible participation by Russia in the Chinese coolie trade; the leasing of Dalian to Russia by China in 1898; the Boxer Rebellion; Sino-Japanese differences over Korea; the Russo-Japanese War, including the matter of Chinese neutrality; tariffs; extradition; international expositions; exchange of scientific and technical information; and transportation.

Notes from the Siamese legation, 1876-1906, T 161, 1 roll. Papers are arranged chronologically.

In 1910 the State Department adopted a decimal classification system which combined diplomatic and consular communications. Records were divided into several subject classes, including internal affairs of a country and political relations between countries. The decimal file consists of nine primary classes numbered 0-8, each covering a broad subject area. Under class 7 'Political Relations of States', the documents are arranged according to the countries concerned. Each country has been assigned a two-digit number. For example, the State Department has grouped the records relating to World War I on the file classification for political relations between Austria (63) and Serbia (72), the initial belligerents in that war. The subjects covered include the conduct of the war and neutrality, the Russian Revolutionary in Asia, and Allied intervention. The total microfilm consists of 518 rolls, but the Atlanta branch possesses only the first 159 rolls. While the 159 rolls include a complete list of documents in the microfilm publication, the documents themselves relating to certain facets of neutrality, neutral commerce, prisoners of war and the termination of the war are not available from the Atlanta office.

Political relations may be with the United States or with other states. Abstracts of documents are filmed on the first roll or rolls of each microfilm publication. The Atlanta branch has the following decimal files on microfilm for China and Japan between 1910 and 1929:

Records of the Department of State relating to internal affairs of China, 1910-1929, M 329, 227 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. The records are chiefly instructions to and despatches from diplomatic and consular officials, diplomatic notes exchanged, pamphlets, pictures, newspaper clippings, memoranda prepared by officials, and correspondence between officials of government departments with private firms and persons. The subjects involved include: the Chinese Revolution of October 1911; the ascendancy of Chiang K'ai-shek; biographical sketches of political and military leaders and

summaries of the political, military, social and economic development in the provinces since 1911; the movement for restoration of the Manchus; political and military conflict between southern and northern China; Civil War and Revolution in north China, 1922-1928; the relationship between the Communists and the Guomintang; Chiang's break with the Communists in 1928; involvement of the United States, Japan, and Western Europe in China; public order and safety; and railway licensing and construction.

Records of the State Department relating to political relations between the United States and China, 1910-1929, M 339, 2 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. These records include instructions to and despatches from diplomatic and consular officials concerned with extraterritoriality in China, treaties on tariffs, friendship, commerce, arbitration, navigation, and renunciation of war.

Records of the Department of State relating to political relations between China and the United States 1910-1929, M 341, 34 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. The records are mostly instructions to and despatches from diplomatic and consular officials. These records concern: readjustment of China's treaty relations with foreign powers to provide for tariff autonomy and the abolition of extraterritoriality; reaction by the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Japan, and Portugal to proposals of the Chinese government, plus a draft of the reply by the United States to the proposals, 1925; Chinese proposals for treaty revision, 1928; the question of extraterritoriality; the Washington Conference on Limitation of Armament, 1921-22; and Sino-Japanese relations.

Records of the Department of State relating to internal affairs of Japan 1910-1929, M 422, 43 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. The papers are arranged by subject in a decimal filing system, with a list of documents on rolls one through three which gives brief abstracts of the documents and serves as finding aid to them. Some of the documents on the list do not appear in the records because of national security restrictions. These records concern Japanese military activities abroad; the Tokyo-Yokohama Earthquake of 1923; proposed loans to Japanese cities and commercial enterprises; visits of Japanese vessels to other nations; patents; trademarks; copyrights; immigration; emigration; Taiwan; and Sakhalin Island.

Records of the Department of State relating to political relations between the United States and Japan 1910-1929, M 423, 9 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. These records concern Japanese immigration to mainland United States: the Immigration Act of 1924; anti-American feelings in Japan; anti-Japanese feelings in the United States; the "Gentlemen's Agreement" of 1908; picture brides; adopted children; rumors of war between the United States and Japan; and relations between Hawaii and Japan and between the Philippine Islands and Japan.

Records of the Department of State relating to political relations between Japan and other states, 1910-1929, M 424, 1 roll, descriptive pamphlet available. These records are mostly instructions to and despatches from our diplomatic and consular officials in Japan and in other countries. Also included are memoranda prepared by officials of the department, and correspondence with officials of other government departments, and with private firms and individuals. These records relate to the foreign policy of Japan, treaties and agreements between Japan and other states, and relations between Japan and Korea.

The Atlanta branch also owns microfilm copies of the following miscellaneous records of the State Department:

List of United States diplomatic officers, 1798-1939, M 586, 3 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. Papers are arranged by nation and post, thereafter chronologically. This list presents the names of the officers, their titles or grades, nationalities, places of birth, residences when appointed, and dates of appointments for each post. Countries of East Asia that are listed include: China, Cochin-China, Japan, Korea, Russia, and Siam.

List of United States consular officers, 1789-1939, M 587, 21 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. Papers are arranged by post (usually city or town), thereafter chronologically. This list contains the names of the consular officers with their titles or grades, nationalities, places of birth, residences when appointed, and dates of appointment. Consular posts in the following East Asian/Pacific nations are included: Celebes, China, Cochin-China, Fiji, Formosa (Taiwan), Guam, Japan, Java, Korea, Marshall Islands, New Britain Islands, Philippines, Russia, Samoa, Sandwich Islands (Hawaii), Siam (Thailand), Sumatra, and Tahiti.

Papers relating to the cession of Alaska, 1856-1867, T 495, 1 roll, is arranged chronologically, and records the negotiations between Russia and the United States over the cession of Alaska. Included is correspondence between both parties as well as the official documents of the transaction.

"The Alaska Treaty" by David Hunter Miller, 1867, T 1024, 1 roll, contains the proceedings and records of the treaty that transferred Alaska to the United States from Russia. This document was prepared by David Hunter Miller, who was editor for the Department of State in 1867.

Records of the Russian-American Company, 1802, 1817-1867, M 11, 77 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. These Russian-language records consist of the history and activities of the Russian-American Company, established by Tsar Paul I in 1799 and granted a monopoly of trade in Russia's North American possessions for twenty years. This monopoly was renewed in 1821 and 1842 and was in effect when the United States purchased the territory in 1867. Their records concern the business of the company, colonization, and relations with other countries having interests in the area.

Minutes of treaty conferences between United States and Japanes representatives, and treaty drafts, March 11-July 22, 1972, T 119, 1 roll. These minutes contain the notes, drafts, minutes and list of personnel participating in Japanese-American treaty talks. The eventual treaty called for American aid in scientific, educational and agricultural endeavors.

Records of the Department of State relating to the Paris Peace Commission, 1898, T 954, 3 rolls. These records contain the transactions of the commission that reached a settlement to the Spanish-American War. The documents include official correspondence, notes, memos, and the final terms for ending the war.

Personal and confidential letters from Secretary of State Lansing to President Wilson, 1915-1918, M 743, 1 roll, descriptive pamphlet available. This collection of press copies of personal and confidential letters from Secretary of State Robert Lansing to President Wilson between August 1915 and July 1918 concern diplomatic relations with Russia and Japan, despatches received from United States diplomatic and consular officers in Asia, and notes to Japan, China, Russia, Col. Edward House, and cabinet members.

Records of the Department of State relating to World War I and its termination, 1914-1929, M 367, 159 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available.

General records of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace (ACTNP), 1918-31, M 820, 160 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. These papers contain: the correspondence of the commission; minutes and reports of the various committees, councils, commissions, field missions, and plenary sessions; minutes of the meetings of the Conference of Ambassadors, 1920-31; and memoranda, publications, pamphlets, maps, and personal records. This microfilm publication contains 563 rolls; the Atlanta branch possesses only the first 160. These 160 rolls include an explanatory key; the complete list of documents, and records relating to general commission activities; minutes of meetings of the Conference of Ambassadors, 1920-31; and matter discussed by the Supreme War Council and the Supreme Economic Council and a few of the committees and commissions subordinated to the ACTNP. The 160 rolls do not include other questions considered by the Peace Conference, or political affairs world-wide, especially Asia.

[2] War Department records relating to East Asia in the Atlanta branch include *Records of the American section of the Supreme War Council, 1917-19,* M 923, 21 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. The Supreme War Council was created in late 1917 to coordinate prosecution of World War I. It considered important policy questions that only the heads of government could decide; it made policy, not plans. Subjects considered by the Council included the composition and employment of a general reserve, use of of American troops, intervention in Asiatic Russia, operations in areas of peripheral to the western front, and terms and implementations of the Armistice. The records of the American section of the Supreme War Council consist of letters, reports, studies, minutes, telegrams, charts, maps, pamphlets and books sent to and received from American, French, British, and Italian personnel. These documents reflect the role of the American section in collecting and analyzing data to support the Supreme War Council's work in coordinating the allied war effort in 1918, in implementing the terms of the Armistice and in drafting peace treaties in 1919. This series of records includes reports from American liaison officers at Marshall Ferdinand Foch's Headquarters; reports from military attaches and observers at allied and neutral capitals on political and military conditions in Russia, Germany and other countries; minutes of the meetings of permanent military representatives; and minutes of the meetings of the Supreme War Council. The records contain considerable information of the Allied intervention in Siberia, the political and economic situation in North East Asia (Siberia, Manchuria, Mongolia), and accounts for the Czech Legion in Siberia.

Historical files of the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) in Siberia, 1918-20, M 917, 11 rolls, descriptive pamphlet is available. These historical files contain: important reports relating to the activities to the AEF in Vladivostok, Shkotovo, and the Suchan Mines during 1919; English translations of Russian, Japanese and Chinese newspapers published in or near Asiatic Russia; accounts of strikes by railroad and mine workers and partisan guerrilla activity in Shkotovo and Suchan Mines districts during 1919; English translations of Russian, Japanese and Chinese newspapers published in or near Asiatic Russia; and reports of offices in the AEF.

Historical information relating to military posts and other installations, 1700-1900, M 661, 8 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. Information derives from a 27-volume "Outline Index of Military Forts and Stations," of the U.S. Army's Adjutant General's office. There is reference to U.S. installations in the Philippines and the Pacific Ocean.

Official Published Documents Relating to Insular Possessions of the United States including the Philippines, 1876-1906, M 24, 3 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. The documents cover the entire period of the American military governments in the Philippine Islands as well as the early years of civil government. The Bureau of Insular Affairs was created in the War Department in 1898 to administer the civil affairs of possessions acquired as a result of the Spanish-American War. During the early years of its existence the Bureau made a comprehensive collection of all reports, hearings, acts, and other relevant printed matter from governmental sources relating to the Philippine Islands in addition to some materials relating to Alaska and Hawaii. These documents were made part of the Bureau's library.

One final collection of War Department-Related records on East Asia in the Archives branch is: *Records of Nazi Cultural and Research Institutions, and Records Pertaining to Axis Relations and Interests in the Far East 1933-45,* T 82, 550 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. There are files pertaining to economic, military and cultural relations with Japan, Pacific islands, and China, especially its Shandong Province. These records were captured at the end of World War II and microfilmed by American officials.

[3]*Records of the United States Exploring Expedition Under the Command of Lieutenant Charles Wilkes 1832-42,* M 75, 27 rolls. An introduction may be found at the beginning of the first roll. By an 1836 act of Congress, the President was authorized to "send out a surveying and exploring expedition to the Pacific Ocean and the South Seas." The United States Exploring Expedition, under the command of Lt. Charles Wilkes, left the United States in 1838 and returned in 1842 after exploring Pacific Islands and the northwest coast of America. The records include journals and logs kept by officers and men of the expedition. Preparations for the expedition, activities during the expedition itself, and courts-martial of certain officers during the expedition are documented.

Records relating to the United States surveying expeditions to the North Pacific, 1852-1863, M 88, 27 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. These volumes record the actions of exploring expeditions as they surveyed areas from the South China Sea to the Bering Straits. The expedition made landings in Japan, China, and Pacific Islands and assisted Commodore Perry with his 1853-54 mission to Japan.

[4]*Letters received by the Secretary of the Navy from commanding officers of squadrons, 1841-1886,* M 89, 300 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. Papers are arranged by name of squadron, and thereafter chronologically.

Beginning in 1815 the American Navy was divided into six permanent squadrons: the Mediterranean Squadron, the West India Squadron, the Pacific Squadron, the Brazil Squadron, the East India Squadron and the Home Squadron. All of these except the West India Squadron were still in existence in 1841, when the Navy first filed separately the letters received by the Secretary of the Navy from commanding officers of squadrons. In 1866 the Pacific Squadron was divided into the North Pacific and the South Pacific Squadrons, while the Asiatic Squadron had been established in 1865. The letters from commanding officers relate to operations in wartime, negotiations of treaties, observations of military institutions and affairs in foreign countries, and personnel matters. Significant events documented in these letters include Perry's 1853-54 mission to Japan. The squadrons concerned with Asia and the Pacific and the dates of the letters from their commanding officers are: East India Squadron, February 26, 1841 - December 7, 1861; Pacific Squadron, December 30, 1841 - June 19, 1866; North Pacific Squadron, May 26, 1866 - June 25, 1869; South Pacific Squadron, June 31, 1866 - May 27, 1869; Pacific Station, June 26, 1869 to August 13, 1872; North Pacific Station, September 23, 1872-April 30, 1878; South Pacific Station, September 16, 1872-April 19, 1878; Pacific Station, July 9, 1878-November 11, 1886; and Asiatic Squadron, August 1, 1865-November 24, 1885.

Water Lily. Traditional Chinese symbol for purity.

History of the Chinese in Savannah, Georgia

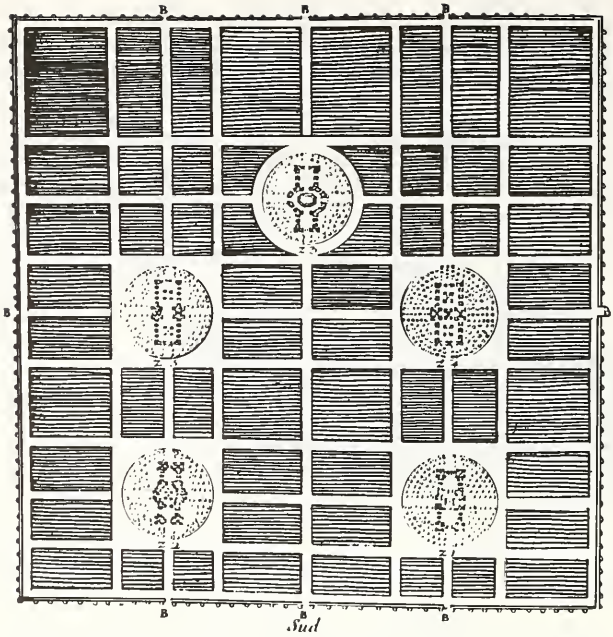
GEORGE B. PRUDEN, JR.*

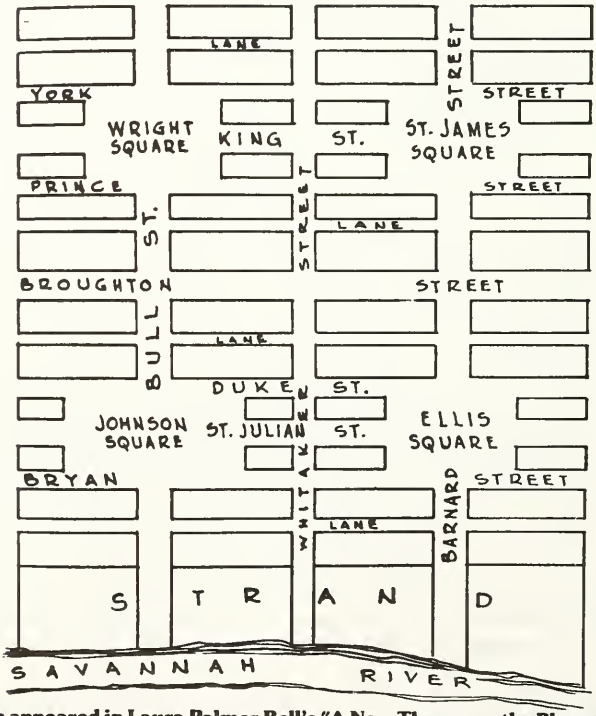
Two hundred and fifty years ago James Oglethorpe led more than a hundred people from England to establish Georgia. On February 12, 1733, they reached the Savannah River and shortly afterwards began clearing trees and building houses. Savannah, as well as Georgia, is therefore celebrating its semiquincentennial anniversary in 1983. Savannah's numerous ethnic groups — Jewish, Afro-American, Native American, German, Greek, Irish, Italian, and English — will commemorate their considerable contributions to the political, economic, social, and cultural life of the city. Another ethnic group, the Chinese, have lived continuously in Georgia's first city for just over a century and have also contributed to its life and diversity, but they have done so quietly. In order to provide a more complete picture of Savannah's history, the purpose of this article is to examine the Chinese community in one of the nation's most historical cities. Doing so will provide a more complete picture of Savannah's ethnic mosaic.

Savannah's reputation for beauty may in part be due to Chinese influence. Oglethorpe, who personally laid out the original plan for Savannah, may have been trying to pattern it after Beijing (Peking), the capital of China.[1] In both cities a series of parks and squares were placed in a regular pattern to interrupt the boring repetition of rectangular blocks formed by straight streets intersecting at right angles. Laura Plamer Bell has amassed a body of circumstantial evidence to support this thesis, and a comparison of the maps of the two cities will show the similarity. (See maps accompanying this article.)[2] Moreover, chinoiserie was becoming fashionable in Europe in the early eighteenth century; so it is possible that Oglethorpe, who was known to consort with the literary figures of his time, brought with him to Georgia an admiration for Beijing, and laid out a similar city plan for Savannah.[3] Thus, the first Chinese contribution to this city may have arrived with the earliest settlers and may be one of the historic features which visitors and residents most admire about Savannah.

---

*Professor Pruden teaches East Asian history at Armstrong State College, Savannah, Georgia. In 1977 he received a Ph.D. in international studies from The American University, where his dissertation was on "Issachar Jacox Roberts and American Diplomacy in China During the Taiping Rebellion."





These maps appeared in Laura Palmer Bell's "A New Theory on the Plan of Savannah," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 48 (June 1964), pp. 159-60, with these captions: "A tracing by Stephen P. Boud of the first four squarer laid out by Oglethorpe in 1733. Shown in the Deputy Surveyor General Thomas Shruder's *Resurvey of the Town of Savannah*, 5th day of February 1770./Plan of the *New City of Peking* by Father Gabriel Malgalhes S.J. from the *Novelle Relations de la Chine*, published in Paris in 1688 by C. Barbin." Used with the permission of Stephen P. Boud and The Georgia Historical Society.

Chinese people did not arrive until substantially after Savannah's establishment in 1733. Although a few Chinese seamen may have visited Savannah aboard ships, the first documented Chinese visitor arrived in 1847, just three years after Caleb Cushing negotiated the first Sino-American treaty. On November 20, 1847, Lin Keng Chiu (Lin Jingzhou) arrived in Savannah from Xiamen (Amoy) in the company of a Dr. Cumming.[4] Neither the reason for Lin's visit nor how long he stayed is known. A week after his arrival he was taken by Dr. Cumming to visit some friends in the home of J.B. Reid, where he commemorated the event with an inscription in Chinese and English. "I saw those kind friends," he wrote, "and was very much pleased with them, especially the nice ladies."[5]

For the remainder of the nineteenth century connections between China and Savannah were more incidental than substantive. John Elliott Ward, a mayor of Savannah during the 1850s, became United States Minister to China. He was appointed by President James Buchanan in 1858 to exchange ratifications of the Treaty of Tientsin. (See Gabard's article on Ward in this journal.) Ward had never been to China, nor had he any previous diplomatic experience, yet he was aware of that East Asian nation and conditions there. One of his good friends was the Episcopal bishop of Savannah, whose sister was married to the bishop of the American Episcopal Church in China. Ward also knew ships' captains and American naval officers who had been active in Western Pacific and Chinese ports. Ward travelled for part of his journey aboard the flagship of the United States Asiatic squadron, commanded by his friend and Savannah native Commodore Josiah Tattnall, who broke American neutrality to give aid to the beleaguered British force at the Dagu forts. Tattnall coined the phrase: "Blood is thicker than water."[6] Ward returned to Washington shortly before the U.S. Civil War in 1861. When war broke out, Ward sided with the Confederacy and returned to Savannah. He brought with him some Chinese fireworks, which he gave to a friend, who set them off on his plantation to the delight of his guests.[7]

The foregoing incidents establish the fact that prior to any Chinese coming to Savannah to live, the city had some, albeit tenuous, links to China. The elite of Savannah appear to have kept up with current events through churchmen and through kinsmen like Ward and Tattnall. Upper class Savannahians thought themselves cosmopolitan as a result. Savannah was moreover already becoming an ethnically diverse city. Jews had lived in Savannah since the 1730 s and a synagogue has been in continuous operation there since 1735. Large numbers of Irish and smaller numbers of immigrants from other European countries made up about half the population of Savannah by 1860. Yet no clearly defined anti-foreign prejudice was discernible. Know-Nothingism had appeared in the 1850s, but had little impact on local politics.[8] When the first Chinese arrived in Savannah, they were met with tolerance and curiosity, not hostility.

From 1785, when three stranded seamen inadvertently became the first Chinese residents of the east coast of the United States, until the late 1840s, the total number of Chinese in this country never amounted to more than a few dozen.[9] Being an east coast port, Savannah did not experience the waves of Chinese immigration that followed the discovery of gold in California and brought over 41,000 Chinese by 1854. Prejudice against them arose quickly in San Francisco and other west coast areas where they were concentrated.[10]

Right after the Civil War and the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, some Southerners contemplated bringing in Chinese laborers as a cheap source of labor to replace freed slaves. (See Brown and Ganschow's and Beatty's articles in this journal on Georgia Chinese outside Savannah.) A number of Chinese were brought to Augusta to dig a canal, and they became the first Chinese to live in Georgia. The 1870 U.S. Census is the first one that places any Chinese in the state.[11] See Appendix for Census data on Chinese residents.

Savannah's first Chinese resident was William Ah Sang, who arrived in September 1872. He visited the newspaper office in native dress to announce his arrival as a tea merchant and impressed a reporter as much by his novelty as by his dignified manner and fluent English. Although he was described as "converted to the faith and a member of Christ Church," the headline read "The Heathen Chinee."[12] He evidently did not remain in Savannah, for no

further reference to him appears, and the 1880 census did not enumerate any Chinese in Savannah or Chatham County.

It was during the late 1870 s that prejudice against Chinese in California reached a fever pitch, and many of them moved to other parts of the United States to find a more hospitable environment.[13] This internal migration probably accounts for the arrival of the first permanent Chinese settlers in Savannah. According to the daughter of one of these early Chinese residents, among the reasons for them to choose Savannah, was that "some were reminded of their beloved Guangzhou (Canton) by the Savannah harbor and the green landscape and wonderful climate."[14]

The first Chinese to make Savannah his permanent home arrived about 1881 and opened the Sing Wing hand laundry on one of the major downtown streets. He followed the pattern set by other Chinese in the United States who found a ready clientele for hand laundries. These self-contained businesses did not compete with white labor, as laundry had traditionally been done in the home by slaves, servants, or female members of the family. Most of the Chinese who set up these laundries were from the rural areas of southeastern China. They knew little English, were uneducated, and lacked the skills needed to engage in the kinds of businesses already established by the existing population. By long hours of hard ,rk these foreign entrepreneurs carved out a niche for themselves in the business life of Savannah. Other Chinese who came during the 1880s also opened laundries, and by 1890 there were eight of them listed in the *Savannah City Directory*. One Chinese opened a curio shop in 1890, but soon went out of business and moved away.[15]

Almost all of the Chinese who came to Savannah during the latter half of the nineteenth centruy were male and either single of separated from their families. Very few Chinese women left their homeland for the United States. Between 1848 and 1868 only three per cent of the Chinese arriving in San Francisco were female, and this percentage barely increased after the initial period of immigration. At least two Chinese females were in Savannah during the 1880s, but neither stayed very long. One worked in a Chinese laundry, was prosecuted for vagrancy by her employer, and sentenced to three months on the chain gang.[16]

The bachelor Chinese laundrymen understandably were homesick for their native country and families. One of them reminisced to his family that they stuck together and would walk down to the harbor in the evening and watch the ships plying the river by moonlight.[17] The pathos of their situation has been captured in a poem by Gerald Chan Sieg, a daughter of one of these early Chinese laundrymen in Savannah:

LAUNDRYMAN

If I could hear once more
The call of dark winged birds across the fields
Of rice and slim young bamboo,

If I could see once more
A crane with yellow legs so straight
Among cool water grasses,

If I could touch again
Her hands whose lingers in their sleeve of scarlet
Are softly curled and gentle,

My soul would be content,
O gods,
To iron away eternity.[18]

The only record that exists for some of them are newspaper accounts of their brushes with the law. Under the leadline: "ARREST OF THE HEATHEN CHINEE," the *Savannah Morning News* reported the apprehension of two laundrymen for possession of stolen goods. One of them, Lu Chung (Loo Chang), was "the man who married a white woman at Waynesboro some time ago, and afterwards was run out of that city."[19] (See Beatty's article in this journal on the Waynesboro incident.) Another incident involving Chinese was reported with a touch of amusement. Hung Lee brought charges against Charlie Lee for failing to repay $100. The preliminary trial produced an interesting culture clash. Hung Lee refused to take the Christian oath, and Charlie Lee, claiming to be a "Sunday School boy," refused to participate in a Chinese-style oath. This required that a chicken's head be cut off in the presence of both parties, whereupon they would agree to suffer the same fate if they did not tell the truth. The impasse was not resolved, and the judge dismissed the charge for lack of evidence. It was clear from the account that the newspaper reporter believed Charlie Lee was taking advantage of the situation. Charlie, he noted, was known as a sharp dealer and was probably hiding behind his Christian affiliation to avoid being found guilty.[20]

Yet, not all the references to the Chinese in the local newspaper were derogatory either in tone or substance. The *Morning News* reported the naturalization of three Chinese in August 1888 and noted that Savannah now had four Chinese citizens.[21] A Chinese laundryman claimed to have been assaulted by two white men. Sang Lung positively identified one of his white attackers, who was arrested and put in jail despite an alibi and the police chief's belief in his innocence.[21]

How deep or widespread anti-Chinese prejudice was in Savannah around the turn of the century is hard to determine from United States Census data. Although the number of Chinese in Savannah had almost tripled between 1890 and 1900, as shown in the Appendix, even then there were fewer than four dozen in all. A clearer indication may be the city ordinance prohibiting the operation of opium dens in 1895. Aldermen voted unanimously to allow its second reading at the same meeting in which it was introduced and passed. About a decade later, when the first Chinese children born in Savannah reached school age, they were not allowed to attend the white schools. Local education officials may have strictly interpretated the 1877 Georgia constitution: "Separate schools shall be provided for the white and colored races." Only in the mid-1920s were Chinese children allowed to attend white schools in Savannah.[23]

Toward the end of the 1890s the character of the small Chinese community in Savannah began to change. Chung Ta-p'eng, who also used his boyhood nickname, Chan, had arrived on April 6, 1889. That night, the Independent Presbyterian church, a prominent Savannah landmark, burned in a spectacular fire. Seeing the blaze from the Sing Wing Laundry, he interpreted this event as a sign that he should join that church. He began attending it once it was rebuilt and became a member. Upon baptism he was given the Christian name Robert and entered on the church roll as Robert Chung Chan, because the clerk did not realize that his Chinese surname was Chung. Rather than cause any embarrassment, he accepted Chan as the surname for himself and his family.[24]

Few Savannahians were aware that this dignified and unassuming young Chinese was an ardent anti-Qing dynasty patriot, and had left China to escape punishment as a revolutionary. He had received a classical Chinese education and supported the Chinese republican revolutionary movement then led by Sun Zhongshan (Sun Yat-sen). He traveled around the southeastern United States soliciting funds for the Chinese revolution from his fellow countrymen and fowarded the money to China's republican revolutionaries. After his marriage in 1897, and especially once the first of his six children was born, he was not able to travel so widely for the cause he cherished. (See photo of Chan family accompanying this article.) After trying without success to operate a farm and a restaurant he was taken in as a partner of Willie Chin & Co., a Chinese laundry.[25]

By 1900 the number of hand laundries, of which there had been eight in 1890, totaled fifteen.[26] Among the new arrivals by 1900 were two clansmen of Robert Chung Chan from his native village in Kwangtung Province who spelled their surname "Jung." When they also brought wives about 1900 and started their families, the Chinese community took on a

The first Chinese family of Savannah: father, Robert Chung Chan; mother, Cecelia Ann Lee, holding Robert Earl; behind her right shoulder is Ah'ge (Archie); at extreme left is Gerald (neé Geraldine); to her left in Sin-fah; and in the right foreground is Sandor. A sixth child was born later. Used by permission of Gerald Chan Sieg.

different character. Robert Chung Chan advised his kinsmen and the other newly arrived Chinese to live apart from each other. He understood the distrust of Chinatowns that Caucasians felt in San Francisco and New York. "Too many hatchet men out west," he told them. "Too many tongs (secret, frequently warlike societies) in New York. If we live apart, they will like us better and not be afraid."[27] Robert Chung Chan, probably more than anyone else, prevented a Chinatown from developing in Savannah.

He did what he could to improve the reputation of Chinese in Savannah. Always dressed impeccably in up-to-date western-style clothes as he was when photographed with his family, he carried himself with quiet dignity and treated everyone with courtesy. He was one of the original members of the Chinese Sunday School class begun in 1897 at the Independent Presbyterian Church, but he did not like being set apart from the rest of the members. After years of faithful attendance and service to the regular Men's Bible Class of that church, he was elected honorary president and retained that office until his death in 1953.[28]

Robert Chung Chan did not try to enhance his own reputation apart from or at the expense of his countrymen. He was, in fact, their acknowledged leader. By 1920 he helped organize and held high offices in the Savannah branch of Chinese Freemasons or "Chee Kong Tong," and attended its 1921 National Convention in New York City. He also helped establish Savannah's Chinese Benevolent Association in 1945. Newly arriving Chinese sought his advice and counsel, and some he helped financially to get started in business.[29] These activities were quietly done; he never sought publicity for himself or for Chinese. He wanted all of them to be accepted as an integral part of Savannah life without drawing attention to themselves. When news of the successful Chinese revolution came in October 1911, the three families, now including three children, celebrated quietly. In later years, as older Chinese died, dignified funeral processions out to Laurel Grove Cemetery would bear their remains to be buried temporarily until their bones could be shipped back to China for interment in ancestral graves. After church on Sundays they usually gathered for a big meal and a game of mah-jongg.

Occasionally the noise would cause neighbors to wonder what was going on, especially when they sang Chinese songs and had someone to play the *erhu,* a shrill, two stringed violin which harmonizes well with falsetto male voices. Celebrations of Chinese New Year called for joyous unrestraint. After a lavish meal, fireworks lit up the sky and firecrackers echoed through the streets and alleys.[30]

These gatherings continued as long as the number of Chinese in Savannah remained low enough so that they could all meet together in one home and the bachelors could join the few families as surrogate uncles of the small children. Having declined in number to 34 in 1910—perhaps due to natural attrition by the deaths of the older bachelors—there were only 38 Chinese in Savannah by 1920. In the following decade a sharper increase occurred as the oldest ones of the second generation reached maturity, married, and had children of their own. Not all of the second generation learned to speak Chinese. Robert Chung Chan and his wife did not speak Chinese within their home. And the second generation began to develop interests, friends, and concerns that made the earlier closely knit Chinese community less cohesive. During the 1930s the number of Savannah's U.S.-born Chinese surpassed the foreign-born total for the first time, and by 1940 the ratio of U.S.-born to foreign-born Chinese was almost two to one.[31]

International events in East Asia during the early 1930s made Savannahians more aware of China. When C.C. Wang, First Secretary of the Chinese Legation in Washington, visited Savannah in January 1933 just for a vacation, reporters went to his hotel to gain an interview from him, but without success. The account of his arrival in Savannah and seclusion from the press also noted that the Chinese community in Savannah had contributed liberally to a fund for the defense of Shanghai, which Japan had attacked in 1932.[32] In February 1933, the League of Women Voters had as its speaker Chin Meng, Associate Director of the China Institute in America, at a public meeting concerned with Sino-Japanese conflict.[33]

The Chinese in Savannah may have become more diverse in outlook by this time, but they never denied their ethnic heritage. Some of the Chinese wives began meeting informally

in the mid-1930s in a group they called the Hen Club. Recognizing the need for a more structured organization to keep the Chinese together, they persuaded their husbands to see what could be done. In 1945, shortly before the end of World War II, the Chinese Benevolent Association was formed. Lat Woo, a businessman, was elected its first vice president. Two children of the latter also were elected charter officers. The long-range purpose of this association was "to bring Chinese in Savannah into closer cultural relationship not only with one another but with the other peoples of this city."[34]

The number of Chinese in Savannah declined after 1930, presumably due to the demise of the elderly among the first generation. The fact that U.S.-born Chinese in the United States surpassed the number of foreign born Chinese in Savannah tends to support this assumption. New Chinese immigrants came to Savannah during this decade and an even greater increase occurred during the 1950s, but they were not the bachelor laborers who had had come from farming villages. China had changed a great deal, and the new immigrants in Savannah reflected those changes. They came from the bustling port cities where education was no longer considered the preserve of the wealthy classes. Many of them went into various kinds of businesses. Chinese reatuarants and gift shops predominated. And because Robert Chung Chan had established the pattern that Chinese should be dispersed throughout the city, still no Chinatown developed in Savannah. According to one Savannah-born member of the Chinese community, only two Chinese lived on adjoining property. Two members of the same family bought lots that shared a common rear property line, but each one faced onto a different street. The fifty-year presence of Chinese in Savannah also facilitated the entry of new families and the establishment of new businesses. Some new immigrants married into established Chinese families after they arrived, and thus were able to build upon the standing in the community that their in-laws already enjoyed.[35]

A citizen of the Savannah area, T.S. Chu, serves as an example of a Chinese emigrant to Savannah who may be considered typical in terms of his career pattern and upward mobility. Chu first came to this country to represent his native province at the Chicago World's Fair in 1933. Instead of returning to China, he stayed to see more of the United States and opened a gift shop in Coral Gables, Florida. One evening a stranger appeared at his shop. Casual conversation revealed that he had no place to sleep because he had forgotten to make hotel reservations. Mr. Chu let him sleep on his bed while he took the chair on the porch. The stranger repaid Chu's great kindness by inviting him to come to Savannah Beach, Georgia, where he lived, and open a gift shop in a building he owned. Chu did so, and began the thriving business that bears his name. Shortly afterwards he married Mae Jung, a daughter of one of the first Chinese families in Savannah. His shop remained open long hours every day and stocked anything customers wanted to buy. He developed a loyal clientele that included many celebrities. He likes to boast that Dwight Eisenhower was a regular customer whenever he visited Savannah Beach. Because business was so good, he had to enlarge his shop, and later built and moved into a larger store. It is now the anchor of a small shopping center he helped develop as part of a plan to revitalize the commercial life of the resort. He considered but rejected a campaign for mayor of the town, but he is still called "Mr. Savannah Beach." His business interests now include two other gift shops in Savannah, and members of his family own several "7-11" stores. He is quick to credit the friendliness of people for his success, but also likes to point out the opportunities that exist in the United States for a poor immigrant to do well.[36]

A less-typical Chinese who has also made a name for himself in Savannah is Dr. K.C. Wu. After a Chinese classical education he came to the United States and earned an undergraduate degree and went to Yale for a doctorate, which he received in 1926. Upon returning to China he embarked upon a twenty-five-year career as an official in the Nationalist government. He served as Mayor of Chongqing (Chungking) during World War II when it was China's capital, and of Shanghai from 1945 to 1949. (See Kreb's article in this journal of the intricacies of modern Chinese politics.) Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) named him Governor of Taiwan, and his reform-minded stewardship in that position gained

international recognition. *Time* featured him on its cover of August 7, 1950, and perceptively described him as "a little too successful for his own good. [He] may arouse the jealousy of old-line officials."[37] The *Time* reporter did not foresee that Wu would arouse the jealousy both of Jiang and of Jiang's son, the present (1983) leader of the Chinese Nationalists on Taiwan. "If I had stayed there," Wu told an American reporter in 1972, "there would have been no chance for [Jiang's son] to succeed his father."[38] Wu decided to leave Taiwan after an attempt was made on his life that he believes Jiang ordered.[39] He moved to the United States and began a second career as a writer and lecturer in Chicago. In 1965 he accepted an invitation to teach at Armstrong State College in Savannah, where his courses were so popular that students and alumni raised money to pay his salary so he could teach for three additional years after he reached retirement age.[40] He has written several books. *The Lane of Eternal Stability* is a fictionalized account of the Chinese revolutionary movement in the early twentieth century.[41] His most recent work is *The Chinese Heritage: A New and Provocative View of the Origins of Chinese Society.*[42] He is still engaged in research as he turns 80, and his wife is an accomplished painter in traditional Chinese style. Both have become known to Savannahians through periodic feature articles in the local newspapers.[43]

Probably the best-known member of Savannah's Chinese community is a native daughter, Gerald Chan Sieg. She was born to Mr. and Mrs. Robert Chung Chan in 1911 and christened Geraldine. She "simply hated" that name. She shortened it to Gerald, she explained, because "I knew early on that boys were considered better than girls, so if I couldn't be a boy, I'd at least have a boy's name."[44] Chinese children were still not allowed to attend the white public schools, so her early education was provided by private teachers or in private schools. When she reached junior high school age, the local school board changed its ruling and she attended white public schools until her graduation.[45] Her father wrote poetry and she also developed an interest in this form of expression at an early age. Her high school English teacher urged her to submit one of her poems to the Poetry Society of Georgia, and it won a prize. She was invited to join the society and has been a member ever since 1928.

He poems have won numerous awards in the Poetry Society, the most recent one in 1982. She has been published in *The New York Times, The New York Herald-Tribune, Atlantic Monthly,* and *Asia,* as well in children's magazines such as *Child Life, Jack and Jill,* and *Playmates.* In recognition of her "lifetime service" to the Poetry Society, her fellow members established an annual prize in her name. Only one other member was so honored during his lifetime, and that was Conrad Aiken.[46]

In addition to "The Laundryman," quoted earlier, many of her poems reflect her Chinese heritage. She has also written several articles and short books about her early life in Savannah as the daughter of a Chinese family. One of these, *The Chinese Christmas Box,* captures the seasonal spirit of a generosity and the cultural heritage of China that Robert Chung Chan passed on to his six children.[47] The story has been adapted into a children's Christmas play—as yet unpublished—that has been performed twice in Savannah.[48] Through her poetry and prose, Gerald Chan Sieg, a daughter of Chinese immigrants, has written about the first and second generations of her people in Savannah. Those who read her works are less likely to think of Chinese-Americans as stereotypes—either positive or negative—but as a people whose lives are intimately linked with their own.

There are now more than two hundred citizens of Chinese descent living in Savannah—a small but significant part of the population. None of the hand laundries still operates, but Chinese are nevertheless represented in other traditional trades, such as thirteen restaurants, seven grocery stores, and at least three gift shops. In addition, Savannah's Chinese citizens are represented in the professions as physicians, engineers and teachers, one of whom was selected as "Teacher of the Year" in 1975 by the public school systems. There are a career Army officer, a chemist-photographer, a postal clerk, writers, musicians, actors, and playwrights. Many Savannah Chinese are housewives and students.[49]

This being the semiquincentenary year of Savannah and Georgia, much will be made of the hardships endured by the earliest settlers. Yet not all of them arrived without some idea

of what to expect. A contemporary of Oglethorpe recorded what the Trustees told prospective English settlers:

> They must expect to go through great hardships in the beginning, and use great industry and labor, in order to acquire afterwards a comfortable subsistence for themselves and families. The country was hot in summer, and there were flies in abundance, and thunderstorsm were frequent in that season. Sicknesses were dangerous. If they were temperate and industrious, they might establish themselves and families in a comfortable way upon lands of their own.[50]

The Chinese who began arriving in Savannah a century and a half later came without any foreknowledge of what to expect, and they faced additional obstacles. Few of them could speak English when they arrived, and the prevailing culture was far different from their native way of life. Most of the bachelor laundrymen kept to themselves as long as they lived there, but the ones who brought or established families put down roots and, with the frequent assistance of Robert Chung Chan, joined in the life of the city. Their descendants and the later arrivals are now respected members of the Savannah community. They were unaware that they were fulfilling Oglethorpe's hopes for the kind of settlers he expected to make Savannah and Georgia thrive: "What various misfortunes may reduce the rich, the industrious, to the danger of a prison, to a moral certainty of starving! These are the people that may relieve themselves and strengthen Georgia, by reporting thither."[51]

Oglethorpe did not envision Georgia as a haven for debtors, but as a place where potentially productive people buffeted by circumstances beyond their control could engage their energies and skills and contribute to its success.[52] He did not foresee that his hopes would apply equally to the Chinese of the next two centuries. Yet by their industry and perserverance, they have indeed established "themselves and families in a comfortable way upon lands of their own."

APPENDIX
Census Date On Chinese Residents of Savannah*

Year	number	per cent change	males(a)	females(b)	Chatham County	Georgia
1870	0				0	1
1880	0				0	17
1890	15(b)				15	108
1900	44	193	28 (of voting age)		51	204
1910	34	-23			35	233
1920	38	12			38	211
1930	50	32			50	253
1940	40(b)	-20	24	16	40	326
1950	46	15	31	15	69	511
1960	118	157	59	59	128(c)	636
1970	147	25	72	75	189(c)	1584
1980	220	50			340	4324

* *Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1870-1980 Censuses.*

a. *Listed if breakdown by sex was provided in Census Reports.*

b. *Separate figures not given for Savannah; number given for Chatham County also used for Savannah.*

c. *Reported by Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area rather than by county. Savannah's SMSA includes but is larger than Chatham County. Data has been gathered or derived from decennial Census Reports of the U.S. Bureau of the Census, specifically those volumes subtitled Population or Characteristics of the Population.*

NOTES

[1]James Edward Oglethorpe to the Trustees from the Camp near Savannah, February 10, 1733, in [Benjamin Martyn], *An Account Showing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia, in America, From Its First Establishment*, reprinted in *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society* 2 (1842), p. 284. See also George White, *Statistics of the State of Georgia* (Savannah: W. Thorn Williams, reprinted 1972), p. 47.

[2]Laura Palmer Bell, "A New Theory on the Plan of Savannah," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 48 (June 1964), pp. 147-165.

[3]Richard C. Boys, "Oglethorpe and the Muses," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 31 (March 1947), pp. 19-29.

[4]*Georgian* (Savannah), November 20, 1847.

[5]The original is in the possession of Gerald Chan Sieg, with whose permission it is used.

[6]William M. Gabard, "John Elliott Ward and the Treaty of Tientsin," *West Georgia Studies in the Social Sciences* 11 (1972), pp. 28-29, 33-34.

[7]*Morning News* (Savannah), March 18, 1929.

[8]Herbert Weaver, "Foreigners in Ante-Bellum Savannah," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 37 (March 1953), pp. 1, 10-12.

[9]Ruthanne Lum McCunn, *An Illustrated History of the Chinese in America* (San Francisco: Design Enterprises, 1979), pp. 10, 24; William J. Bromwell, *History of Immigration to the United States...September 30, 1819 to December 31, 1855* (New York: Radfield, 1856), *passim*.

[10]Daniel Cleveland to J. Ross Brown, U.S. Minister to China, San Francisco, July 27, 1868, in *American Diplomatic and Public Papers: The United States and China*, Series II, *The United States, China, and Imperial Rivalries, 1861-1893*, (Wilmington, Del.,: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1979), pp. 1-2.

[11]Catherine Brown, "Chinese in the South: 1865-1980," paper presented to the Southeastern Conference of the Association for Asian Studies, Boone, North Carolina, January 21, 1893; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Ninth Census: The Statistics of the Population of the United States*, I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), p. 22.

[12]*Morning News*, October 1, 1872.

[13]McCunn, p. 82.

[14]*Morning News*, January 15, 1950.

[15]*Savannah City Directory*, 1882; McCunn, p. 63; *Morning News*, July 9, 1891.

[16]*Morning News*, June 4, 1884, January 15, 1950; Cleveland, p.1; References to other Chinese women in *Morning News*, February 21 and July 17, 1891.

[17]*Morning News*, January 15, 1950.

[18]*Yearbook of the Poetry Society of Georgia, 1933-1934*, used with the permission of the author.

[19]*Morning News*, October 22, 1884.

[20]*Morning News*, February 21, 1891.

[21]*Morning News*, September 1, 1888.

[22]*Morning News*, July 14, 15, and 16, 1895.

[23]Minutes of the City Council of Savannah, Georgia, April 24, 1895, p. 151; Statement of Gerald Chan Sieg to the author, February 3, 1983.

[24]Lowry Axley, *Holding Aloft the Torch: A History of the Independent Presbyterian Church of Savannah, Georgia* (Savannah: Pigeonhole Press, 1958), p. 45; Interview with Gerald Chan Sieg, December 29, 1982.

[25]Sieg interview; Gerald Chan Sieg, "Georgia's Chinese Pioneers," *The Atlanta Journal and Constitution Magazine*, March 7, 1965, p. 20.

[26]*Savannah City Directory*, 1900.

[27]Sieg, "Georgia's Chinese Pioneers," p. 22.

[28]Axley, p. 136.

[29]*Morning News* and *Evening Press* (Savannah), June 11, 1953; Sieg interview.

[30]Sieg, "Georgia's Chinese Pioneers," p. 22.

[31]*U.S. Census Report, 1940.*

[32]*Morning News*, January 22, 1933.

[33]*Morning News*, February 10 and 16, 1933.

[34]*Evening Press*, January 2, 1945; Sieg interview.

[35]Sieg interview.

[36]*News-Press* (Savannah), October 31, 1971.

[37]*Time*, August 7, 1950, p. 25.

[38]*News-Press*, July 2, 1972.

[39]*News-Press*, May 2, 1971.

[40]*News-Press*, July 2, 1972.

[41](New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1962).

[42](New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1982).

[43]*News-Press*, July 28, 1974, and December 19, 1982, in addition to those already cited.

[44]*Morning News*, November 5, 1978.

[45]Sieg statement to author, February 3, 1983.

[46]*Morning News*, October 30, 1936; January 8, 1937; October 6, 1937; November 17, 1937; August 29, 1948; November 5, 1978.

[47]Second edition (n.p.: The August Press, 1970).

[48]Sieg interview.

[49]Figures extracted from the Yellow Pages of the *Savannah Telephone Directory*, March, 1982; *Morning News*, January 15, 1950; Sieg statement, February 3, 1983.

[50]Francis Moore, *A Voyage to Georgia Begun in the Year 1735* (London, 1744), reprinted in *Collections of The Georgia Historical Society* 1 (1840), p. 84.

[51][James Edward Oglethorpe], *A New and Accurate Account of the Provinces of South Carolina and Georgia* (London, 1733), reprinted in *Collectins of the Georgia Historical Society* 1 (1840), p. 56.

[52]Albert B. Saye, "Was Georgia a Debtor Colony?" *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 24 (December 1940), pp. 323-41.

Georgia chrysanthemum

The Augusta, Georgia, Chinese: 1865-1980

CATHERINE BROWN AND THOMAS GANSCHOW*

The purpose of this study is to examine the historical and socio-economic developmental patterns of the Augusta Chinese from their initial settlement in the late 1860s to 1980, the most recent year for which census data is available, and to explain the variations which have taken place over time. Strictly defined this is a study in historical urban social geography and involves the analysis of the changing patterns of a small urban ethnic group functioning as a social and economic unit within a larger biracial population.

A survey of the data and literature pertaining to the Chinese in the United States has suggested that the Chinese in Augusta share similar histories and characteristics with other Chinese groups south of the Mason-Dixon line and east of and including Texas. However, the southern groups of Chinese differ from Chinese in other regions of the United States. The literature also showed a strong bias toward interpreting the history and characteristics of Chinese and other ethnic minorities as largely the products of racial prejudice and economic forces operating inside and outside of the group. These common themes from the literature provide the direction and theoretical basis for this study.

---

*Catherine Brown received her B.A. in geography from the University of Tennessee, and an M.A. in geography from the University of Georgia, where she is presently a candidate for an M.A. degree in anthropology. Her specialized field of study is Asian minorities in the Southeastern United States. Professor Ganschow has taught Chinese and East Asian history at the University of Georgia since 1969. In 1971, he received his Ph.D. in those fields from Indiana University, where he worked under Ssu-yü Teng. His dissertation topic was: "A Study of Sun Yat-sen's Contacts with the United States Prior to 1922." He has published several articles in the fields of modern Chinese history and international relations. The authors wish to thank the Georgia China Council for their support of this project. They are also grateful to the members of the Chinese Benevolent Association of Augusta for their cooperation and encouragement.

Contrary to what one might believe about early American attitudes toward China and the Chinese, from the earliest available evidence, Americans rarely seemed impressed with traditional Chinese culture and government.[1] Prior to the advent of the first large scale immigration of Chinese into the U.S. in the mid-1850s, Americans had been educated by accounts of some travelers to China to believe that the Chinese were a morally debased, biologically inferior race. This latent largely negative stereotype surfaced quickly when Americans met Chinese face-to-face stateside. The stereotype was activated by the xenophobia of a growing nativist movement. It was reinforced by language barriers, cultural differences and domestic economic problems, especially labor/management tensions in the American West.

Chinese began to emigrate to the United States in large numbers after the establishment of regular transpacific steamer service in 1848. At first, these settlers remained concentrated on the West Coast, where they were tolerated for a brief period as a source of cheap railroad, mining, and agricultural labor — much needed in a population-hungry frontier with a rapidly expanding economy. The boom-town era was short lived, however, and when the region plunged into a depression, the Chinese found themselves blamed for many economic and social ills. Racism was rampant and the presence of foreigners — especially foreigners so very different in customs and appearance as the Chinese — was considered divisive. The consensus among Caucasians in the American West was that if the West were to solve its problems it needed a homogenous population with common origins and goals. By the 1870s the West had rallied under the slogan, "The Chinese must go," a sentiment that was often violently expressed.[2]

The Chinese responded to the outbreak of violence in several ways. Some returned to China while others relocated in other countries. Those who stayed in the West clustered for safety in larger cities. The consensus among researchers is that the anonymity of the city, especially the large city, provided the Chinese an element of protection they did not have in small towns or work camps. Although the urban clusters which grew into Chinatowns lost their invisibility, Chinatown itself became a fortress against outside aggression and it took on a political, social, and economic life of its own. Chinese who preferred to leave the West but remain in the U.S. began to migrate eastward. Southern migration was encouraged by a popular movement within the region to secure Chinese contract labor to supplement or replace free black labor. At approximately the time the West raised to cry, "The Chinese must go!" the South issued an invitation "Let the Chinamen come."[3]

Chinese in Georgia

One of the most pressing problems faced by Georgia in the aftermath of the Civil War was the adaptation of a slave labor economy to a free labor force. Like the rest of the South, Georgia initially resisted change, preferring to substitute cheap wage labor for slave labor and rejecting technological innovations which would have eased agriculture's labor dependency. Also, like the rest of the South, Georgia did not consider the state's reserves of free blacks as a potential labor force — or at least much of one. In fact, it was widely thought that "the institution of slavery provided the best system of labor devised for the negro race," and that blacks would never work without coercion.[4] This opinion was reflected in an 1866 editorial in a Savannah paper which claimed that the state needed a legal code to force blacks to work since they had been freed "without the restraints of intelligence" and would otherwise pass their time in idleness and vice.[5]

Black labor had some supporters, but for the most part the general trend in the state between 1865 and 1880 was toward the promotion of foreign immigration as a solution to the labor problem. In 1868 a Columbus paper painted this grim scenario, "(to) crush out the negroes, refuse them employment. Once rid of this obstreperous element there will be a tide of immigration that will soon supply our demand for labor."[6] As the state's newspapers raised a cry for Georgia to join the southern effort to attract immigration labor, the blacks began a major exodus out of northern Georgia and the Piedmont to the coastal plain with many leaving the state for places offering higher wages.[7] Though the labor problem in the

state was more imaginary than real, the shift in the black population created a genuine labor shortage and many plantations lay idle for lack of help.

In Georgia the idea of importing Chinese coolies to supplement or replace black labor predated the Civil War although no action seems to have taken place prior to 1865. Immediately after the war, however, brief items about Chinese labor began appearing in the news. For example, in November 1865 a Savannah paper ran a short article about Chinese labor in the West. The Chinese were said to work for $5 a month and clothe themselves. "Their masters," the article concluded (not "their employers"), "were expected to supply other necessities."[8] By 1866 the Georgia press was expressing a direct interest in the use of Chinese labor in the South, for it was generally concluded the Chinese were "faithful and laborous operatives, who (were) easily managed" and "admirably suited for the culture of cotton and other products of the South."[9] (See Pruden's and Beatty's articles in this journal on the labor situation in the South in general, and on Georgia Chinese living outside of Augusta.)

The Chinese in Augusta

The *Augusta Chronicle* had its own opinion of using Chinese coolies as laborers. It was generally negative. Editorials described the Chinese as "joss worshiping, opium soaked coolies." Space was also given to print the text of a speech delivered in Ohio in which Chinese were called "an alien, and inferior and idolotrous race not fit to become citizens or to enjoy the right of suffrage."[10] The *Chronicle's* readers responded in turn with their own feelings about the issue. The majority echoed the opinion of the writer who said, "I am for Georgians all the while, white or black, but white first all the time (not) Chinese coolies, half drunk all the time with opium, yellow immigrants too poor to live at home."[11]

The failure of the proponents of foreign labor to entice large numbers of Chinese workers into the state rendered the issue largely academic in Augusta until 1873 when a construction company engaged to extend the city's canal system announced its intention to include 200 Chinese laborers in its work crew. It is hardly surprising, given the previously expressed opinions of the *Chronicle*, that its readership raised an immediate objection to the proposal. When it became clear, however, that the Chinese would be employed despite the city's objections, the *Chronicle* resigned itself to the idea. What a "novelty" to have such a large body of these people in the vicinity, observed the paper. The *Chronicle* expected the Chinese would succeed as in other places.[12] On November 4, 1873, when 35 Chinese stepped off the train at the Augusta station, *Chronicle* reporters joined the crowd of onlookers and met them with what seemed to be, from the general tone of the ensuing news articles, friendly curiosity. (See Appendix One through Five on the Chinese population of Georgia.)

The *Chronicle's* rival, the *Constitutionalist*, was not as optimistic about the addition of Chinese to the canal's work force. Along with a brief note about the arrival of the Chinese, the *Constitutionalist* chose to print a lengthy article extracted from a 1871 edition of a Louisiana paper which told a lurid tale of "unfaithful, sordid, slow, weak, and (sometimes) murderous" Chinese workers on Louisiana plantations who were a source of continual disappointment and worry to their employers. The *Constitutionalist* also reported that the first Chinese arrivals were from Kentucky, not Indiana as the *Chronicle* had mentioned, and that the remainder would be coming from Louisiana! The *Chronicle* seems to have had no response to this potentially inflammatory article and the *Constitutionalist* dropped the matter.[13]

For several months after the arrival of the Chinese, articles and news briefs appeared sporadically in the *Chronicle* about their progress on the canal, customs, and personal habits. Their work was found to be satisfactory. The Chinese were characterized as a sturdy agreeable lot of young men with a "sameness of appearance," with "childlike and bland expressions," and somewhat "effeminate" because of their lack of beards. The Chinese were paid $35.00 a month in gold, a salary comparable to the white and black canal workers, and were reported to have kept their living expenses at $7.00 a month. "What a glorious thing it would be," hoped the *Chronicle*, "if some of us 'outside barbarians' could learn to subsist on that modest sum."[14]

But the novelty of the Chinese workers soon wore off; the paper turned to other topics. Nothing was found in the *Chronicle* or in any other source to indicate whether the other 165 Chinese intended for work on the project ever materialized and there is no evidence that any of those Chinese who did come actually stayed past the completion of the canal in 1875, although the assumption is most often made by other researchers that the Augusta community originated from a small group who remained when the work crew disbanded.[15] City directories are missing for that period; so it is not known if any Chinese took up a city residence or entered into any type of business prior to 1876, when the *Chronicle* reported that "a genuine Chinaman has established a tea store on the south side of Broad Street nearly opposite the Planters Hotel." The tea shop which is indicated was located in the heart of the city's downtown business district. The following year a Chinese-operated grocery opened without fanfare in another Broad Street location.

The Chinese as Small Grocers

By the 1880 census there were 17 Chinese men living in Georgia. Ten of these Chinese were located in Augusta and all were engaged in the grocery business. (See Appendix Two on Chinese-owned laundries and groceries in Augusta.) those who did not own their businesses were in the employ of other Chinese. Of the eight Chinese groceries listed in the city directory, most were scattered along Broad Street in the central business district. Five of the city's Chinese shared in the family name Loo and at least three of them were brothers. The Loos were the first Chinese known to enter the grocery business in the city and for a number of years comprised the Chinese community's largest clan. The directory also listed one Chinese grocer as having a partner residing in Charleston, South Carolina. It would seem that the Chinese in Augusta, just as the Chinese elsewhere in the United States, were quick to establish a network of communications and mutual support systems with the various other Chinese communities in the surrounding states.[16]

In 1882 the *Chronicle* had a great deal to say about a Chinese Exclusion Bill being debated in Congress. "From present appearances," observed the *Chronicle* on May 4, "this country has a yellow elephant on its hands only less portentous and menacing than the black one was." The editorial then proceeded to relate the "good and bad features of the Mongolian pest." The good reputation of Chinese businessmen on the West Coast was mentioned, but the Chinese practice of polygamy and other "monstrous vices" were highlighted along with the contempt the Chinese were "known" to have for the American system of government. "Chinese first, last and all the time," said the paper, sneering at the newcomers' national pride and reluctance to become American citizens, adding that "their politeness is on the surface, and (they) have (been) known to kill a man who owed them twenty-five cents."[17]

Curiously enough, the *Chronicle* cheered the passage of the 1882 Exclusion Bill but reported the marriages of two Chinese men to white women that year with no adverse reaction. The weddings aroused some interest, but the couples received the paper's usual good wishes for newlyweds. The events which transpired in Waynesboro the following year also seem to have passed Augusta by without much effect. (See Beatty's article in this journal on the Waynesboro incident.) The Waynesboro episode involved the "Ku Kluxing" of the town's two Chinese citizens out of the fear they too would seduce white women into marriage. The incident prompted the introduction of a bill in the Georgia House of Representatives to prohibit Chinese/white marriages and only served to hurry the wedding plans of several more Chinese men and white women in Augusta. The *Chronicle* was silent. All in all it seemed as though the paper was hostile toward Chinese in general but tolerant of the local community.

In this period, the newspaper's attitude may not have been wholly indicative of the attitudes of the white community. In 1885 there was a movement among white merchants to petition the city council to deny the Chinese business licenses. "The Pig-tail is ordered to go periodically but he remains, just as the pig does," read one blurb in the *Chronicle* not exactly

in keeping with its usual benevolent air. A few days later it reported that "the City Council stands up to the Celestials. John Chinaman need not go."[18] The Council issued a statement that those who "conformed to the ordinances of the city and paid his licenses has as much right to do legitimate business in Augusta as (does) a representative of any other nation."[19] Unfortunately for the Chinese, the Council's decision did not serve to close the issue.

Augusta's white merchants continued their protest and much to the distress of the Chinese, the newcomers became a popular topic of discussion in 1886. Augusta's antagonism toward its Chinese citizens corresponded with the mood of the country. The Northeast was becoming disturbed about its growing Chinatowns as numbers of the Chinese who had settled in the United States prior to the passage of the Exclusion Bill continued their movement out of the Western states. California held its first anti-Chinese "convention" in 1886, and in February of that year a mob of Seattle's white citizens attacked that city's Chinese quarter, driving some Chinese away and killing those who failed to escape. Augusta's merchants renewed their petition to the City Council, complaining that there was no way they could compete with the Chinese and "if something (were) not done (they would) take up the idea suggested in Seattle and elsewhere West and force the pig-tails out of town."[20]

Adding to the alarm of the white merchants was a rumor that dozens more Chinese were scheduled for arrival in the city. The *Atlanta Constitution*, expressing sympathy for the merchants' plight, erroneously reported "hundreds" of Chinese "thriving" in Augusta, and mentioned that Chinese immigration into the city had recently increased. Explicit in the article was fear that the city would be overrun by Chinese. The *Chronicle* responded by sending reporters to talk to the white merchants and engaged a Chinese correspondent in order to cover both sides of the story. The white shopkeepers accused the Chinese of dishonest trading and "unhallowed and cunning competition." Once praised for their frugality, the Chinese were now cursed for it. It would seem that the main competitive edge the Chinese had was living in their stores to reduce personal expenses to "one-tenth what it cost decent men to live." "For ways that are dark and tricks that are vain the Heathen Chinee as peculiar," quoted the white merchant's spokesman from Bret Harte's popular poem of the period. The Chinese in turn denied the allegation that they systematically swindled their customers and presented themselves as a settled group with a stake in the community. They reminded their accusers that the Chinese government protected American speculators in China and that they had a right to expect the United States government to extend them the same protection. The Chinese also stated that they knew of no large scale influx of Chinese planned for Augusta and their group numbered only 31, six of whom were visitors.[21]

All the publicity badly frightened the Chinese, who at one point locked themselves in one of their rooms and refused to come out. It took the joint efforts of the Mayor and several ladies from the newly organized Baptist Chinese Sunday School to convince them their property would not be confiscated and that no bodily harm would come to them. The *Chronicle* sympathized with the Chinese and was of the opinion that the crusade against them was a strike against free enterprise. The issue of business permits faded from the news, but the *Chronicle* continued to examine its Chinese community. A series of articles appeared in 1886 about opium smoking among the Chinese shopkeepers, and one reporter made the round of the various "opium dens" in the city to see how this activity was conducted. The paper made it clear that they were making war on the drug and not the Chinese, but it was generally believed that the Chinese were responsible for introducing opium into the city and that the laundries were but fronts for its distribution and use. This was a popularly held notion throughout the country at the time and the initial investigation into the city's opium parlors seems to have been prompted by some commentary by a visitor from Baltimore who attested to know this for a fact in his city and issued a friendly warning to Augustans to beware. The public response to this went unrecorded and it apparently did not precipitate any new movements to eliminate the Chinese community. The issue died after a month or so, and the Chinese were seemingly left alone, at least in print, until 1890.

Continued Growth and Resentment in the 1890s

By 1890, despite some agitation over the presence of Chinese in the city, the Chinese population had grown considerably. Of the 108 Chinese in the state, 29 were settled in Richmond County. Augusta City Directories for 1890 list about 20 Chinese operating grocery stores and several laundries. The stores were clustered mainly on opposite ends of Broad Street in the central business district and some were extended down Ninth Street into a growing black residential area. In 1891 an additional dozen groceries and another laundry appeared listed in the city directory with two of the laundries noted to serve dual purposes as restaurants. After the large increase, the numbers of stores stabilized for the decade.

The 1890s also saw a spate of articles in the *Chronicle* related to the Chinese. One of them described the Chinese orchestra formed by Augusta's "moon-eyed merchants." Apparently it had become the custom of the Chinese to meet in one of their Broad Street stores when "the departing sun on the western skies lit rosate hues." The Chinese would "eat, gamble, police themselves according to their own code of behavior, play music, and perhaps indulge in a pipe of opium." The orchestra was characterized as a "fearful and wonderful conglomeration of sounds, if one could take a moment to imagine the harmonious strains of a boiler, a saw sharpener, and a vocally inclined piglet being trussed up." The reporter, however, was quick to admonish readers that taste in music was no doubt culturally acquired and that appreciation of Chinese music might well be gained by education in such matters. The reporter also expressed admiration for the strict rules of behavior exercised with the Chinese community saying that Caucasians should "blush with shame" over the comparatively lax laws of the city and state.[22] The piece was written in a lighthearted vein and seems indicative of a turning point in community attitudes toward the Chinese. The antagonism seemed to be abating and there was an attempt, at least by some, to recognize and understand the Chinese.

In 1892 the Geary Act added to the stringency of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Under this law all Chinese laborers were forbidden entry into the United States, and the ones remaining had to be photographed for identity papers. Augusta's Chinese were all merchants and not required to register but chose to do so for protection. In 1894, a Mr. Cobb, the state's representative for this law, came to handle the applications and conduct the photography session. Fifty-two Chinese were counted in the city, including one woman and her baby. This is the first known written record of a Chinese woman or child in Augusta.[23] Mr. Cobb, who had traveled the state registering the Chinese said, "The Chinese are a shrewd set of people, and they are working a great trick upon the ladies of this and other cities in the state." When asked to what he was referring, he replied that

> the Chinese are the shrewdest and trickiest people on earth, were very ambitious and are eager to learn to read, write and speak the English language, and are getting that education by attending church aid Sunday Schools that the Christian ladies conduct especially for them on the Sabbath Day.[24]

He went on to complain that the Chinese did not lose a day's work because the law prohibited Sunday openings, and that once they were satisfied with their command of English they quit going to church and did not become Christianized. His was a common complaint of the time. The Chinese were slowly giving up their sojourner mentality and making efforts to acculturate. Church schools were the only access most had to a formal education and there were many such schools organized throughout the country, where the Chinese first acquired the rudiments of English and knowledge of the western culture.

Perhaps the most disturbing event that occurred within Augusta's Chinese community in the 1890s was the murder of Yip Sing, a "respected and inoffensive" grocer who had lived in Augusta for about eight years. The murder was never solved, but it was thought to have been a ritual killing of the "Highbinders", a secret Chinese society, which, when transplanted in the United States, assumed the role of persecuting Chinese who had forsaken ancestor

worship for Christianity and violated traditional rules of conduct.[25] The murder served to illustrate the tremendous pressure the Chinese were under to conform to two very different sets of cultural norms. The Chinese suffered violence from within and violence without. White society criticized and attacked them for being different but also pressured them by custom and law to acculturate and assimilate. Traditional Chinese social organizations criticized and attacked those who strayed from the strong internal controls of the Chinese community.

Apart from relating the tragedy of Yip Sing, the *Chronicle*'s stories about the murder provided some valuable information about the customs and daily lives of the Augusta Chinese. For example, though Augusta Chinese, like most Chinese in America, were in the habit of sending their dead back to China for burial, Yip Sing was buried in Augusta's white cemetery. The service was not in accordance with the "weird and interesting" rites of the Chinese religion; it was a simple Baptist service conducted in English. The paper also reported that Yip Sing lived in a tiny garret over his store. His grocery had about $500 worth of stock, which would have made it a modest sized store with a limited number of items. he kept his cash divided into small amounts and secreted them in various parts of his living quarters, apparently preferring not to use a bank.[26] From accounts of other Chinese in the United States during this period it would seem that this was representative of a typical Chinese bachelor's life style and behavior; so it may be assumed it was true of many of Augusta's Chinese bachelors as well.

Social Changes in the 20th Century

At the turn of the century the Chinese population of Augusta stood at 41, most of whom may be accounted for by the city directory. There were approximately 29 groceries in the city and 8 laundries. Four Chinese are listed as clerks in Chinese stores and two married couples are noted. Most Chinese stores were in the central city, primarily in three small clusters located on Broad Street or directly off Broad on a major artery; other groceries were located in the adjacent growing black residential district. By most accounts, the Chinese markets from very early on had catered to blacks. As the black population expanded into the southeastern portion of the city, the Chinese followed their trade.[27] There is no indication from any source that the move was prompted in part by continuing efforts of white merchants to rid themselves of Chinese competition.

The United States Census records an increase in Augusta's Chinese population from 48 in 1910 to 74 in 1920. The City Directory, however, shows no substantial increase in the numbers of Chinese businesses. In fact, the numbers of groceries remained between 25 and 30 from the early 1880s through the early 1920s. By 1920 most Chinese-operated groceries had shifted to corner locations in the black residential section, leaving only a few Chinese markets in the downtown area. There was also a corresponding movement of white residential sections in the western portion of the city. Several whites operated markets located in the black section, and there were approximately 49 markets operated by blacks. The Chinese laundries maintained their downtown locations but began to decline slightly in numbers. This decline was part of the national trend, as the traditional Chinese hand laundry began to be replaced by commercial steam laundries and home laundry appliances.[28] Until the 1940s, when the coin-operated laundromat began appearing in the suburban shopping centers, most of Augusta's laundries remained in the central city, where the dwindling numbers of Chinese hand laundries shared an almost exclusively white clientele with the more successful white-owned steam laundries.

Although there were several families established in Augusta by 1920, the community was still predominately male, single or married with wives and families in China, and mostly foreign-born. The overwhelmingly majority of Chinese were self-employed. With the exception of one Chinese woman who was listed in the 1920 City Directory as a housekeeper, the few who were not self-employed were employed by other Chinese. Even

with the addition of families to the community it remained the custom for the Chinese to maintain living quarters in their places of business. Employees usually boarded with employers.

The United States Census for 1930 showed that Augusta's Chinese population had risen to 153. There were approximately 48 Chinese-owned groceries in the city and 6 laundries. The business-residential pattern was similar to that of the previous decade with a few Chinese laundries in the central business district and a concentration of Chinese markets in the black residential district. In fact, by the 1930s the Chinese seem to have garnered most of the black trade. In the early 1920s Chinese and black grocers appeared to have shared equally — at least by numbers of stores — in food retailing in the black neighborhoods. But by 1930 the number of black owned stores had dropped from 49 to 14, while the numbers of Chinese stores in the area had risen from 20 to 45. White owned markets in the area remained insignificant in numbers.

It is difficult to account specifically for the proliferation of Chinese markets and the failure of blacks to compete for their own customers. One explanation for the phenomenon has been offered in Loewen's study of Chinese and black competition in food retailing in the Mississippi Delta. According to Loewen, blacks had difficulty making objective business decisions about matters of credit because "with so many families always on the edge of immediate want, personal ties meant personal claims." The Chinese grocer, on the other hand, maintained social distance from the black community and was not under any obligation to extend credit to those who could not or would not pay.[29]

Residential Patterns

The earliest Chinese in Augusta were reported to have been housed in a "shed" by the canal they were hired to enlarge.[30] Presumably the Chinese workers shared this accommodation from 1873 to 1875, when the canal was completed and the work crew disbanded. By 1876 there was a Chinese residing in his teashop on Broad Street. The shop-house business-residential pattern was traditional in South China, where most of the early immigrants came from, and it became the most common business-residential pattern for Chinese in this country.

Most of the Chinese in Augusta lived in their stores until the 1950s when the shop-house pattern began to break down. At first they were located primarily in the central city, scattered among a mixture of black and white enterprises. But by 1920 the majority had relocated in black neighborhoods, where the shop-house type corner Chinese grocery became the common form. By the 1940s a few Chinese had moved into private homes adjacent to or within a few blocks of their stores. U.S. Census tract data for 1940 shows residential patterns for "Asians" neatly conforming to Chinese business patterns.

City Directory and U.S. Census tract data for the 1950s and 1960s show a continuing trend toward separation of business and residence and a general movement out of the black districts. The most recent census tract data available for this study — 1970 — shows only 18 of the 282 Chinese in the city still residing in the old black neighborhoods. The majority of the Chinese were located in predominantly white neighborhoods and the Chinese business locations appear randomly dispersed. City Directory information for 1980 shows a persistence of the 1970 pattern.

Growing Acceptance

Another determinant of Chinese success may have been a change in relations with the white community. Although the Chinese lived in the black neighborhoods, increasing amounts of their social relations were with whites. Chinese children went to white schools and many Chinese were affiliated with the white First Baptist Church.[31] Whites operated the wholesale houses which supplied Chinese retail outlets, and the Chinese had earned their

respect as good businessmen and credit risks. The Chinese Benevolent Association, local chapter of a national Chinese organization, founded in Augusta in 1927, had among its goals to promote "friendly feeling" between the Chinese community and the community at large.[32] There seems to have been no parallel organization in the black community to engender group cohesiveness and actively seek improved relations with the white community. So, although the Chinese were distinctive by their physical appearance, their goals, values, dress, and behavior reflected those of the white community. Their middleman position in the economic hierarchy also defined their social position in the community and allowed them social mobility denied the blacks.

In 1931 this position was briefly threatened by a bill introduced in the State Legislature to deny funding to white schools which enrolled Asian children. A flurry of anti-Asian sentiment had been prompted by the Sino-Japanese War (1931-1945), but the bill seems not to have excited much press coverage and it was not passed. The Chinese community, however, was affected by the war in other ways. Many still had family ties with China and thousands of dollars were raised to help the Chinese government fight the Japanese. A number of young men in the community went to flight school to prepare themselves as pilots and were ready to enlist in the Chinese military if necessary. Although the census is not detailed enough to provide data on nativity for Georgia cities, it seems probable that the aspiring young pilots represented first or second generation Chinese-Americans.

The 1940s saw an increase in the Chinese population from 153 to 222. The pattern of Chinese groceries remained the same, but the numbers rose from approximately 48 to 63. The City Directory for 1941 listed only one Chinese laundry, in keeping with a steady decline in the number of laundries since 1900. In 1943 the United States Government finally granted the Chinese naturalization rights and relaxed immigration restrictions against them. The Government granted a quota of 105 in 1943, and several years later Congress made special provisions for the immigration of Chinese women and children under the War Brides Act. Augusta's Chinese were reported to be pleased with the changes, and citizenship no doubt improved their position in their community. The new immigration laws, however, seem to have had little effect on the total population. In 1950 the census reported 224 in Richmond County, the same figure given by the 1940 census.

From the turn of the century Georgia's newspaper references to the Chinese community had become increasingly routine. A note or an article here and there reported the involvement of a Chinese in community activity, scholastic achievements, and promotions. But reports were phrased in such a manner that the Chinese were portrayed as an integral part of the community, unlike blacks whose social activities which were relegated to a separate page. Also with the advent of the civil rights movement and resurgence of ethnic pride among American minorities, the Chinese became more outspoken about themselves. In 1958 a *Chronicle* staff writer interviewed a C.H. Lam about the low incidence of juvenile delinquency among business and the strong traditional Chinese family structure which still characterized the typical family unit in Augusta. He also noted the fine reputation of Chinese children in school and stated that "in the last decade, virtually every Chinese youth in Richmond County was graduated from high school and almost all of them went on to college."[34]

By 1960 the Chinese population had risen to 270. The number of Chinese markets had been reduced almost by half of the 1950 total, with the majority of the remaining stores still located in the black residential district. Many more Chinese were to be found in the professions, primarily medical and teaching. From the mid-1950s, because of the Anglicization of names, it becomes increasingly difficult to differentiate Chinese individuals and businesses in the city directories, but it seems reasonable to assume that the surveys of the directories from 1960-80 are representative samples of the distribution of people and enterprises, and of primary occupations. So, although the data derived from city directories for the latter period of this study is valuable, it is not directly comparable to the earlier figures. However, even if the decline in groceries seen between 1950 and 1960 was somewhat

exaggerated by the problem of interpreting city directories, it is accurate to say that a general trend toward the decline of Chinese in the grocery business existed. In the mid-1950s the number of groceries peaked at around 65. In 1970 there were 50 Chinese markets according to Chinese sources and by 1980 there were only about a dozen left.

There are several factors which contributed to the decline in markets and occupational shifts among the Chinese. By the 1940s the overall level of education within the Chinese community was rising. Chinese families encouraged educational attainment by using income from the family business to help their children through school with expectations that they would enter professional positions. The large numbers of Chinese found in Augusta in the last two decades in the teaching and medical professions are in keeping with the national trend. At the same time the Chinese markets began losing their cheap family labor they also found themselves in competition with the growing numbers of chain markets which offered a wider selection of goods at lower prices. The Chinese were not the only victims of the change in the city's shopping patterns; black and white small retail groceries all lost business to the suburban shopping centers.

In the 1960s the city was beset by race problems and the Chinese became targets of blacks venting frustrations of a century of repression. Chinese informants say that many Chinese families became distressed over the conditions and left the city. In 1970 the situation exploded when a mob of black rioters destroyed many of the Chinese groceries in the black section of town. The riot was apparently well planned. No black-owned businesses were damaged, but Chinese and white businesses were looted and burned. The Chinese were hardest hit, collectively suffering losses in excess of $250,000. A committee of black, white, and Chinese businessmen was formed to assess the problem and negotiate a solution.

The black community encouraged the Chinese to rebuild, saying "If we run them away, how in the world will we be able to get industry into the area?"[35] The Chinese had also provided jobs for blacks in their stores, the loss of which, blacks acknowledged, would be sorely felt. Before rebuilding, however, Chinese businessmen requested a guarantee of no more violence.[36]

Many Chinese did remain and rebuild. In general, the Chinese are one of Georgia's most successful ethnic groups — a group that has "made it" — achieving the American dream of social, educational, and economic success.

NOTES

[1]See: Thomas W. Ganschow, "The Chinese in America: A Historical Perspective" in *Selected Proceedings of the 3rd Annual Conference on Minority Studies* (La Crosse, Wisc.: Institute For Minority Studies, 1976), pp. 235-238.

[2]Stuart Miller, *The Unwelcome Immigrant* (Berkeley: University of California, 1969), p. 189. Not all reports reaching early Americans from China were negative. For a contrast to Miller's conclusions, see: Jonathan Goldstein, *Philadelphia and the China Trade, 1682-1846. Commercial, Cultural, and Attitudinal Effects* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1978).

[3]Cunter Barth, *Bitter Strength (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964), pp. 188-189.*

[4]Mildred Thompson, *Reconstruction in Georgia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1915), p.2.

[5]*Savannah Morning News*, January 3, 1866, p.2.

[6]*North Georgia Citizen* (Columbus), July 9, 1868, p. 2.

[7]Willard Range, *A Century of Georgia Agriculture 1850-1950* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1954), pp. 70-71.

[8]*Savannah Daily News and Herald*, November 10, 1865, p.1.

[9]*Savannah Daily News and Herald*, November 8, 1866, p. 2.

[10]*Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*, September 10, 1969, p.1.

[11]*Augusta Chronicle*, September 21, 1869, p. 2.

[12]*Augusta Chronicle*, October 21, 1873, p. 2.

[13]*The Constitutionalist* (Augusta), November 5, 1873, p. 1.

[14]*Augusta Chronicle*, November 15, 1873, p. 4.

[15]Edwin Cashin, in *The Story of Augusta* (Augusta: Richmond County Board of Education, 1980), is the most recent researcher to assert that "Chinese workers were brought in, over two hundred in all." p. 150.

[16]Miller, *Unwelcome Immigrant*.

[17]*Augusta Chronicle*, May 4, 1882. See also: *The Constitutionalist*, May 4, 1882.

[18]*Augusta Chronicle*, December 3, 1885, p. 4; December 9, 1885, p. 5.

[19]*Savannah Morning News*, December 9, 1885, p. 5.

[20]*Atlanta Constitution*, March 9, 1886, p. 2.

[21]*Augusta Chronicle*, March 13, 1886, p. 8.

[22]*Augusta Chronicle*, July 15, 1890, p. 3.

[23]*Augusta Chronicle*, February 21, 1894, p. 5.

[24]*Augusta Chronicle*, March 29, 1894, p. 8.

[25]*Augusta Chronicle*, January 22, 1896, p. 2.

[26]*Augusta Chronicle*, January 23, 1896, p. 2.

[27]S.M. Chin, "The Chinese of Augusta, Georgia," *Bulletin of the Chinese Historical Society of America* 13 (February 1978).

[28]Rose Hum Lee, "The Decline of Chinatown in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology* 54 (March 1949).

[29]James W. Loewen, *The Mississippi Chinese* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971). See also: Robert Seto Quan, *Lotus Among the Magnolias: The Mississippi Chinese* (Jackson, Miss.: University Press of Mississippi, 1982).

[30]*Constitutionalist*, November 9, 1873, p.5.

[31]Saely Ken, "The Chinese Community of Augusta, Georgia from 1873 to 1971, "*Richmond County History* 4 (1972), 51-60.

[32]Ken, "Chinese Community."

[33]*Augusta Chronicle*, February 23, 1932, p. 1.

[34]*Augusta Chronicle*, July 21, 1958, p. 8.

[35]*Augusta Chronicle*, May 21, 1970, p. 11.

[36]*Augusta Chronicle*, May 21, 1970, p. 11.

APPENDIX ONE

Chinese Population of Georgia 1860-1980*

	Total	Male	Female	Male/Female Ratio
1860				
1870	1	1		
1880	17	17		
1890	108	105	3	35/1
1900	204	192	12	16/1
1910	233	218	15	14.5/1
1920	211	187	24	7.8/1
1930	253	181	72	2.5/1
1940	326	205	121	1.7/1
1950	511	302	209	1.4/1
1960	686	371	315	1.1/1
1970	1584	892	692	1.3/1
1980	4324	n/a	n/a	n/a

*Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1860-1980 Censuses.

APPENDIX TWO

Numbers of Chinese Owned Groceries and Laundries in Augusta, Savannah, and Atlanta 1880-1980*

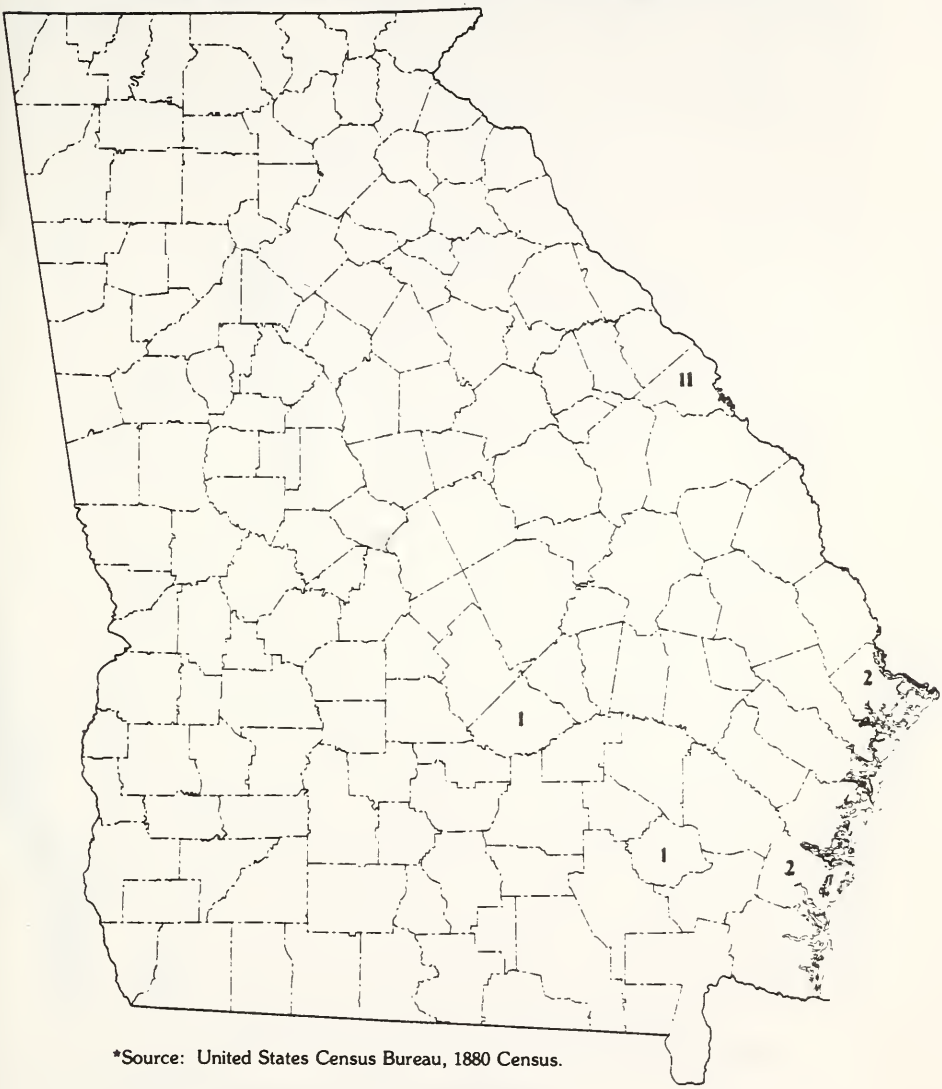
	Laundries			Groceries		
	Augusta	**Savannah**	**Atlanta**	**Augusta**	**Savannah**	**Atlanta**
1880	1	1	**	8	**	**
1890	2	11	6	20	**	**
1900	8	31	37	29	**	**
1910	12	23	40	25	**	**
1920	10	20	34	29	**	**
1930	6	7	17	48	4	1
1940	1	7	13	63	6	**
1950	2	**	10	65	**	**
1960	2	**	3	50	**	**
1970	2	**	**	18	**	**
1980	**	**	**	12	8	**

Source: City Directories for Augusta, Savannah, and Atlanta, 1880-1980.

***Indicates information is not available or data sources incomplete or questionable.*

APPENDIX THREE

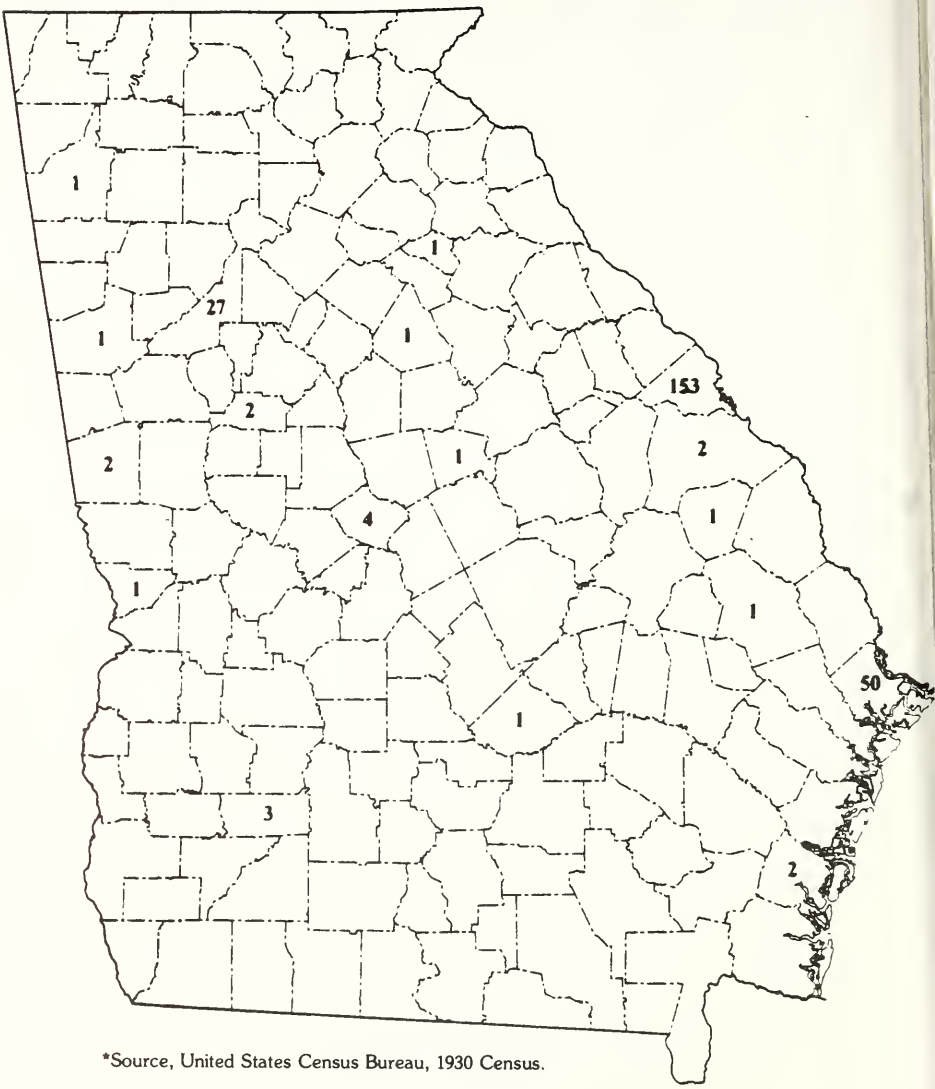
Chinese Population of Georgia by County, 1880*



*Source: United States Census Bureau, 1880 Census.

APPENDIX FOUR

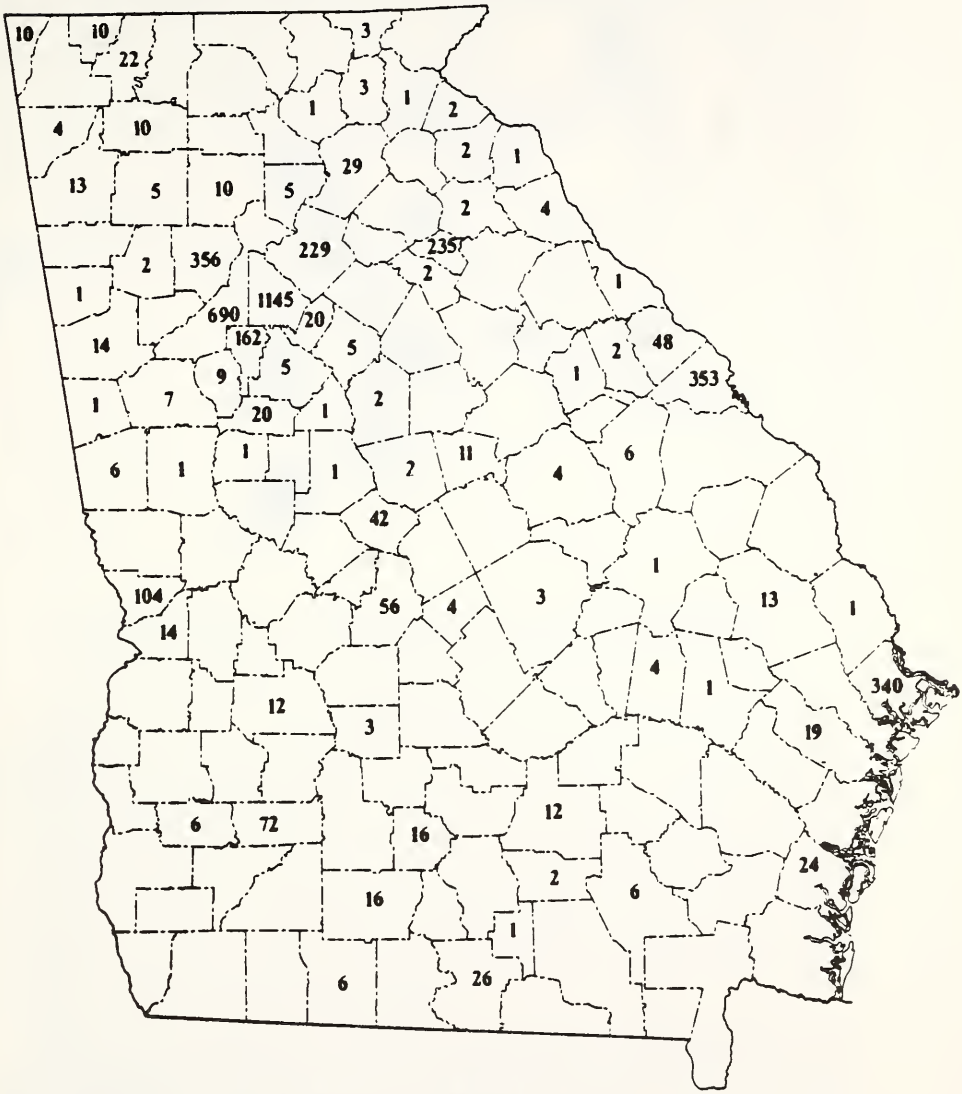
Chinese Population of Georgia by County, 1930*



*Source, United States Census Bureau, 1930 Census.

APPENDIX FIVE

Chinese Population of Georgia by County, 1980*



*Source: United States Census Bureau, 1980 Census.

Rosa laevigata is the Cherokee rose, Georgia's state flower, a native of China that rapidly naturalized in America.

The Expulsion of Loo Chang from Waynesboro: A Case Study of Sinophobia in Georgia in 1883

BESS BEATTY*

When Henry Grady, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution* and prominent spokesman for the ideals of the New South, assured Southerners of the "truth" of white supremacy, he was primarily comparing whites to blacks but also including other non-whited in his racial hierarchy. Shortly after passage of the Chinese Exclusion Law in 1882, Grady rejoiced that a national sense of racial superiority "has just spoken in universally approved legislation in excluding the Chinaman from our gates." Historian Dan Caldwell suggests that the Chinese underwent a process of "Negroization"—being likened to and treated as blacks—in the nineteenth century.[1] An analysis of the Loo Chang incident of 1883 as a case study of sinophobia in Georgia reinforces to some extent the racist inclusiveness Grady celebrated and Caldwell describes. However, it also points to variations of racial stereotyping and discrimination depending on the group involved.

Southern whites' responses to Chinese and blacks differed as a result particularly of the disproportionate numbers involved. "The flood tide of European immigration," C. Vann Woodward observes, "swept past the South leaving it almost untouched and further isolating it in its peculiarities from the rest of the country."[2] Woodward's observation is just as applicable to Chinese immigration. Compared to the steady stream of Europeans into the

*Professor Beatty has taught American history at Shorter College, Rome, Georgia, since 1975. She received her Ph.D. in American history from Florida State University in 1976. Dr. Beatty has published numerous articles and reviews in the fields of Afro-American history and U.S. labor history. The original version of this article was published in *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 67, No. 1 (Spring 1983), and is republished with that journal's permission, with the kind assistance of Theodore B. Fitz-Simons, Curator of The Georgia Historical Society.

Northeast and Midwest and the thousands of Chinese seeking employment on the west coast, the South was "almost untouched." The 1880 census, for example, lists only seventeen Chinese in Georgia (a count that was likely an under-enumeration, but the number was small).[3]

Large numbers of Chinese first began emigrating to the United States after the development of regular transpacific steamer service in approximately 1850. Initially almost all Chinese emigrated to California. Several authors have attempted to analyze the stereotypes of Chinese that existed in 1850 and the effect that the accelerated influx had on these attitudes. Gunter Barth suggests that intensive prejudice first developed in California only after large numbers of Orientals immigrated, and was due primarily to their sojourner status. Stuart Miller more convincingly argues the contrary view that prejudice and stereotypes extended back to the first commercial-diplomatic-missionary contacts with China and, therefore, were already deep-rooted in 1850. Negative images, he contends, always intermingled with the more positive concepts of ancient Chinese accomplishments.[4]

The ante-bellum South, far removed from the world of Chinese workers and preoccupied with defining relations between black and white, gave far less attention to the Chinese than did whites on the west coast. But Southerners were not entirely oblivious to Oriental immigration. Ironically, despite the Southern proclivity for racial demarcation, Richmond, Virginia's *Southern Literary Messenger* appeared nationally in the 1830s and 40s as a major defender of the Chinese. An 1841 article, "China and The Chinese," for example, claimed that while the Chinese had their faults, they also had many virtues—that they were a people "preservingly industrious, habitually temperate and devoted to peaceful pursuits." The *Literary Messanger* was not, however, typical, as many Southerners included Orientals in their categorization of inferior races. Some Northerners, in fact, were fearful that the many Southerners settling in California in the 1850s would as readily enslave the coolie workers as they had the blacks.[5]

Although the vast majority of early Chinese immigrants remained in the West, some labored, particularly on railroad construction and mining, in other parts of the country. William Kelly brought the first known Chinese workers into the South in the 1850s to work in his Kentucky iron refineries. But the Southern ante-bellum demand for labor was not extensive enough to warrant widespread importation of immigrant workers.

The aftermath of the Civil War, however, saw the South's tightly controlled labor supply in shambles. Plantation owners, hoping to recoup pre-Civil War profits but doubtful that free blacks would satisfactorily supply their labor demands, led the movement to import foreign labor, including Chinese coolies. They believed that the Chinese would be politically docile and they also hoped that, with an alternative racial group available, the freedman would be forced to economic terms.[6] Frances Butler Leigh, a planter in Darien, Georgia, noted in her diary in 1869 that using "Chinese labour on plantation in the place of negro labour" which had become "hopelessly unmanageable. . . interested us all very much."[7] Leaders in virtually every Southern state expressed interest, generally with an expectation of success. The planters were often joined in their efforts to lure in immigrant workers by "New South" industrialists who wished to build a labor supply. In July 1869, two hundred delegates from all over the South—primarily planters, landowners, and industrial financiers—met at the Chinese Labor Convention in Memphis to plan the promotion and importation of Chinese labor.[8]

The high point of Southern interest in Chinese labor came in 1869. The Sino-American Burlingame Treaty of 1868 guaranteed the unrestricted immigration of Chinese laborers into the United States. But even in 1869 Southerners were divided concerning this new labor scheme. *DeBow's Review*, a leading promoter of immigration into the South in the post-Civil War period, reflected this dichotomy of thought in its July 1869 issue. A.P. Merrill, a fervent supporter of importation, wrote that Europeans were physically unsuited to labor in the hot sun and blacks were "doomed to extermination," but insisted that God would not allow the region's fertile fields to go to waste. The Chinese, he concluded, were the solution. He stated that "for many years it has been a puzzle to determine the designs of providence in regard to

these numberless people. It has been left for us, in this favored region, to unravel the great mystery, and to discover the wonderful adaptation of means to ends—here is the soil, there are the laborers and the power of steam has brought them together." Another author in the same issue, however, condemned bringing the Chinese workers on the grounds that they would only exacerbate the South's racial dilemma.[9] Frances Butler Leigh provides another example of this ambivalence. She "nervously" contracted for seventy Chinese workers because she feared that otherwise her property would go to ruin. Later she expressed relief that large numbers of an alien race had not come.[10] Blacks, the lowest rung of the Southern economic scale, also had mixed reactions to the possible immigration of the Chinese. Some regarded them as potential economic rivals while others emphasized the similar plight of both groups.[11]

Despite Southern recruiting efforts, few Chinese workers found sufficient inducement to relocate. Statistics are difficult to establish because many coolies did not remain long enough to be included in the censuses, but probably no more than a few thousand came South in this period. Some of them were employed in sugar, cotton, and rice fields with limited success. Others worked on various construction projects, particularly railroad building. About two hundred were brought into Augusta, Georgia, in 1871 to work on a canal extension project. (See Brown and Ganschow's article in this journal on the Augusta Chinese.) They formed the second largest block of Southern Chinese and were among the first contacts most people in the Augusta area ever had with Chinese people.[12]

As federal Reconstruction waned, native white Southerners re-established control over the black population and lost interest in replacing black labor with other groups. Some of the Chinese left after projects were completed—as the Augusta canal was in 1875—but others remained. Several in Augusta opened small grocery and drygoods stores, an occupation typical of the Chinese in the South. In this trade they carved for themselves a precarious niche in the Southern hierarchy.[13]

It was also in the 1870s that demands for a ban on the immigration of Chinese workers became common not only in the West but in the rest of the country as well. An 1870 poem by Bret Harte was reprinted nationwide and popularized the image of the "Heathen Chinee." Nine years later President Rutherford B. Hayes wrote that the influx of Chinese was "pernicious and should be discouraged."[14] Mary Coolidge and Carey McWilliams have claimed that Southerners migrating to California played a key role in fostering white supremacist ideas and that a South-West alliance was at the core of exclusion sentiment. Stuart Miller has challenged both Coolidge and McWilliams by describing considerable sinophobia existing in New England. He does, however, agree that "southern contingents [Congressmen] voted unanimously for the various destructive and exclusionist measures," and implies that most Southern whites agreed.[15]

There is considerable evidence supporting claims that white Southerners were virtually unanimous for restriction. Georgia Representative Emory Speer's vitrolic harangues on the House floor concerning the "vicious," "less clean," "morally depraved" Chinese were echoed by his colleague James Blount, who condemned allowing the entry of a people "ignorant, pagan and polygamous." They and most other Southern Congressmen voted for exclusion.[16] But historians have generally overlooked the fact that there was also some Southern opposition to exclusion. Senator Joseph E. Brown, the most prominent Georgian in Washington, was a critic of exclusion on the grounds that it violated an 1880 treaty with China, which allowed the regulation but not the prohibition of Chinese immigration. He also argued that such a policy might so offend China that missionary efforts would be stifled and that it could destroy a potentially valuable market for Southern textiles. "It would be foolishness on our part," he wrote, "to seek to wantonly offend these people, and destroy our influence and our commerce among them."[17] Brown spoke for other New South merchants who were not concerned with expanding markets than with racial exclusion.

Georgia's newspapers also reflected divided opinion. Initially the *Atlanta Constitution* opposed the bill for the same reasons Brown did. Its Washington correspondent condemned

supporters for ignoring the many positive contributions of the Orientals while focusing only on their negative characteristics. But midway through the exclusion debate, the paper began defending the country's right to keep out "the diseased, desolute, destitute, and prostitute."[18] The *Augusta Chronicle*, representing the city with Georgia's largest Chinese population, consistently supported exclusion of the "pig-tailed Celestial" on the grounds that while "all dark races are obnoxious to white men," the Chinese are "more dangerous than the negro." That the bill was something of an embarassment to some Republicans augmented the *Chronicle*'s support. It was "one of the revenges of time," the paper claimed, that Pacific coast senators who helped impose the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments "upon the prostrate South" now wanted Southern aid.[19] The Waynesboro *True-Citizen* was launched in late April 1882, after the fight for exclusion had waned. Ironically, in this small town, where less than a month later the entire Chinese population was threatened and expelled, this newspaper concluded that President Arthur's veto of exclusion should be upheld "if one of the fundamental principles upon which this Republic was founded means anything."[20]

Arthur's veto was upheld, but Congress then passed a ten-year exclusion act which he signed. For the first time in American history, one national group had been banned from entry. It was, according to Stuart Miller, a case of an "unfavorable image made official."[21]

Augusta, Richmond County, Georgia, where "pig-tailed Celestials" were condemned as "more dangerous than the negro," was the home of approximately thirty Chinese in 1882, the year the Exclusion Act was passed. One of them, Willie Loo Chang, arrived about 1880 and prospered, selling dry goods and Chinese novelties. In July 1882, he married Dennie Fulcher, a young white woman from neighboring Burke County and moved to Waynesboro, the small county seat serving that county's cotton farmers, to open a general store. The marriage aroused considerable interest in the two-county area with Caucasian-Oriental intermarriage both defended and condemned. A judge had questioned whether he could issue a marriage license in light of Georgia's miscegenation laws, but finally concluded that Chinese were not "colored" and allowed the marriage. The Waynesboro *True-Citizen* defended the marriage, but only by rationalizing that the groom had been Americanized by discarding his queue and Chinese dress and going to church regularly. According to the newspaper, Chang had become in every respect a "Mellican Man," the *True-Citizen*'s way of ridiculing the way in which a Chinese might pronounce the word "American." When the criticism continued, the *True-Citizen* countered, "This is the progressive nineteenth century and if the contracting parties are satisfied, we don't propose to lose much sleep about it."[22]

In January 1883, with some financial assistance from his American brother-in-law, Willie Loo Chang had formed a company including his brother Thomas Loo Chang and Ah Sing, a friend, rented a store, and began stocking it with goods. News of the impending opening had arrived in Waynesboro well ahead of the merchants, and for weeks it was the center of the town's attention. To most it was a topic of curiosity, but among some of the town's retailers there was opposition, likely compounded by the recent opening of several other new stores, including one owned by J.L. Fulcher, a relative of Loo Chang's wife. One merchant expressed his pique when advertising that "although the Chinese have come," he carried first class stock. Others, headed by Major William Wilkins, the richest and most influential man in the county, planned to stymie the new rival to their economic monopolies. The county's financial dictators were especially angered by the rumored conversion of considerable black business to Loo Chang and Company.[23]

On the day the Chinese opened for business, they were warned, "We the undersigned merchants of this city do hereby notify you to raise the price of your goods, or the consequences will be 'China or Death.'" The note was signed "Respectfully, Oscar Wilde," with other fictious names added. A few days later Loo Chang and his associates were warned "merchants here will do you like they did the Chinese in Harrisburg [a small town in neighboring Richmond County], only they will kill you tonight."[24]

On February 1, more than twenty men broke into the store, drove out several black customers, and demanded that the Chinese merchants leave town. Ah Sing agreed to their demand "to go back to 'Gusta," but Thomas Loo Chang, who was in charge in Willie Loo

Chang's absence, refused. He subsequently was cursed and pushed out of the store with his hands tied and a flour sack over his head. The gang then took him to the town cemetery, fired their pistols, and threatened to lynch Thomas Loo Chang until he also agreed to leave. They then robbed the store of merchandise of two hundred dollars and left. The two merchants fled Waynesboro that night and almost immediately reported the incident to the Chinese minister in Washington. When Secretary of State Frederick Frelinghuysen received the minister's complaint, he informed Georgia Governor James S. Boynton, and a state investigation was launched. In addition, United States Attorney General Benjamin Harris Brewster ordered the U.S. District Attorney Sion A. Darnell to apprehend and convict those responsible. Willie Loo Chang and Company also hired a team of prominent Augusta and Atlanta lawyers and sued their assailants for fifty thousand dollars.[25]

The case attracted attention all over the eastern United States and even as far away as London. Both of the Waynesboro papers were initially sympathetic with the Chinese. The editor of the *Herald-Expositor*, not above sinophobia but believing that "good people" had "gone wrong," wrote that "we have not heard that Loo Chang was charged with any wrong doing. The reason alleged is that he was not wanted here. That may all be true, and we are also of the opinion that his race are not desirable citizens. But that a self-constituted committee of regulators have the right to run him out, and interfere with business legitimately followed is bad precedent and contrary to good order." However, in the next few weeks the *Herald-Expositor* softened its condemnation of the defendants and indirectly enhanced their position by publishing several sinophobic articles.[26] The *True-Citizen* also switched its support to the defendants, ostensibly because the Chinese had sued for "outrageous" damages but probably because the editor came to realize that the town's economic elite was involved.[27] Papers outside the city generally made light of the rough handling of the Chinese merchants. The *Atlanta Constitution* did not overtly pass judgment but in reporting the case treated the Chinese condescendingly. Articles included "Jim Chang's Rough Experience in Waynesboro," and "Kukluxing a Chinaman," which reported that "a Celestial Merchant in Waynesboro was invited to leave suddenly."[28]

Georgia papers became more defensive when the case was publicized out of the state. *The New York Times* did not report the incident for over a month but then gave it considerable attention. The New York paper, by claiming that Loo Chang's expulsion had occurred not because of labor competition but because of "local prejudice against miscegenation," opened a bitter exchange with the Waynesboro papers. In support of its contention, the *Times* claimed that in several Georgia communities, where the Chinese ran businesses but were not intermarried, they were well-treated.[29] The *True-Citizen* vehemently denied the charges but at the same time became more blantantly racist in its treatment of the case. Georgia, the editor proclaimed, wanted emigrants but only "good citizens—French, German, Irish, English, or any nation of the Caucasian race." As for the Chinese, he now insisted, "every place where these heathens have a lodgment the people writhe and groan under the affliction." The editor also indicated that "the horror of miscegenation" was not far from his thinking when he wrote that "our young ladies are cultivated and refined and would be horrified and disgusted at the very thought of miscegenating with these heathen."[30]

In May the case came to trial in Waynesboro. Although the original sitting grand jury was purged for consisting almost entirely of relatives of the accused, the subsequent court returned "no bill." The grand jurors voted thanks to court officials for their "vigilance, energy and ability" in handling the case. The *True-Citizen* noted that in the case "which has made more noise in the whole world than perhaps any other on record" the Chinese "failed to show one farthing worth of damage to person or property."[31]

District Attorney Darnell, however, concluded that there had been more sinophobia than vigilance. He wrote Attorney General Brewster that the "no bill" had been returned because of "local prejudice against the Chinaman and the influence of the parties accused." Because of his concern that the Chinese merchants' civil rights be upheld and because of international interest in the case, Darnell wanted to continue prosecution in federal court, but he got little support from the Justice Department. In June 1885 the plaintiffs withdrew their suit.[32]

The Loo Chang case sheds light on several questions concerning the South's response to non-Caucasian groups. A number of historians have argued that the negative response of whites to the Chinese grew largely from old established antiblack prejudices.[33] Ronald Takaki, one of the few historians to deal extensively with white attitudes toward all non-white groups, agrees that "what whites did to one racial group had direct consequences for others," and that "whites did not artificially view each group in a vacuum." But Takaki also proposes that while whites sometimes "lumped the different groups together," they also "counterpointed them against each other."[34] Luther Spoehr has also found the relationship between antiblack prejudice and anti-Chinese prejudice to be more complicated than simple transferal. Although he agrees that "on a high level of generalization, all forms of racism may indeed be alike," he denies that attitudes are easily or always transferable. Spoehr draws on John Higham's work to divide racial thought into two categories: racial nationalism, emphasizing cultural attributes, and racial naturalism, emphasizing biological attributes. He argues that "positive stereotypes of the Chinese were much more prevalent among whites than positive stereotypes of blacks"; that the Chinese tended to be classified primarily by racial, nationalist, or cultural criteria, while blacks were classified by linking nationalism with racial naturalist or biological criteria. Spoehr concludes that "views on the nature of the black men were so widely shared and so firmly held that they amounted to a consensus, while no stereotype of the Chinese was so nearly universal."[35]

The Loo Chang case supports theories that on the general level there is an interchangeability of prejudice. Among the commonalities of the white response to both blacks and Chinese were the ubiquitious identification of distinct races by the terms "colored" and "Chinaman;" the frequent use of demeaning epithets as "darky" or "dusky sons of the soil" for the blacks and "pig-tailed Celestial" or "heathen Chinee" for the Chinese; and consideration of both as a distinct, immoral and dangerous people who threatened Caucasian purity. But there is also evidence to support Spoehr's theory of various types of stereotyping and Takaki's theory of racial counterpointing. The Chinese were often identified as distinct from and usually as racially superior to blacks. Even assessments such as that of the Augusta paper that Chinese were "more dangerous" generally stemmed from an idea that the Chinese were culturally superior to blacks and therefore less malleable. Willie Loo Chang was deemed legally "not colored" and allowed to marry a white woman. Despite some hostility, he prospered in Richmond County and apparently visited a few prominent whites in the county as a personal friend. By adapting to white customs he was marginally accepted in white society until he represented a viable threat. That biological inferiority was the white Georgian's assessment of blacks is well-known. The Loo Chang case indicates that views toward the Chinese were more ambivalent; that such cultural considerations as heathen status and immorality were more commonly involved in assessment than racial limitation.

This case also sheds some light on what attributes of new groups most generated fear in the native population. Walter Nugent suggests that the majority response may be "innocence and ignorance if no outgroups were around" but that "ostracism or even violent assault" could occur "if the outgroups appeared to threaten tranquil order or community customs."[36] Although there were only three Chinese in Waynesboro, they did threaten order and custom in several fundamental ways. The non-Christian "heathen" stigma attached to any Chinese person, which was not altogether eradicated by Willie Loo Chang's conversion to Christianity, was particularly untenable in the arch-Protestant South. His marriage to a white woman threatened the dogma of Caucasian racial superiority and purity.

But undoubtedly economic competition was an even more compelling threat. People are often pragmatic in their prejudices. When Southern whites perceived economic advantages from Chinese immigration, they supported it; when they felt threatened, they condemned it. In the Loo Chang case, it was those whites who were most directly threatened that led the assault. Major William Wilkins was typical of Southern merchants who established the "territorial monopolies" that Roger Ransom and Richard Sutch identify as dominating post-

Civil War Southern mercantile relations. Such men, they point out, established a sphere where they not only stifled all competition but also influenced "those economic, political, and social affairs that interested" them. Outsiders coming in to open businesses that threatened reduced prices could not be tolerated. New stores were accepted only if they were founded "by local landowners or other men with local family or business connections."[37] Although Willie Loo Chang did have some minimal help from a local in-law, he was most definitely an outsider and was not tolerated. Finally, the Chinese business relationship and apparent friendship with the town's black population, who made up most of their clientele, threatened the most tenaciously held Southern white norm — control of the black population.

The Loo Chang case also presents evidence as to why so few Chinese immigrants came South despite extensive recruiting efforts. It is almost certain that Chinese in other parts of the country were aware of the Waynesboro incident. The Chinese minister to the United States was actively involved in prosecuting the case. It was reported or discussed on at least six occasions in *The New York Times* and was also picked up by the London *Times*. This was not the only example of violence perpetrated against the Chinese in the South. At least two other incidents, the murder of a Chinese laundryman in Rome and harassment that apparently led to a lynching in Harrisburg, also occured in Georgia in the 1880s.[38] Such confrontation was fairly common in Mississippi, the Southern state with the largest Chinese population, especially when coolie workers protested working conditions.[39] Such violence was far more common and frequently publicized in other parts of the country. But these incidents in the South gave Chinese workers little reason to relocate in an area already known as the most violent toward minorities in the country.

Late-nineteenth century Southern attitudes toward the Chinese were uncertain — often ambivalent. The section wanted to grow, diversify, industrialize; this demanded labor. The North fed its industries with immigrants, and many Southerners hoped to follow suit. In the 1880s the Atlanta, Augusta, and Waynesboro papers urged immigrants to come south. Planters joined industrialists in the campaign. The South also wanted to retain good relations with China, which was perceived as a major potential market for increased Southern productivity. But in the final analysis the section's racism outweighed its demand for labor and markets,and the Chinese were increasingly condemned as an alien group. The Loo Chang case serves as one example of this Southern sinophobia.

NOTES

[1]Henry Grady and Dan Caldwell in Ronald T. Takaki, *Iron Cages: Race and Culture in 19th-Century America* (New York, 1979), pp. 200-201, 216.

[2]C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge, 1951), p. 299.

[3]*Statistics of the Population on the United States at the Tenth Census* (Washington, 1883), p. 56.

[4]Gunter Barth, *Bitter Strength: A History of the Chinese in the United States, 1850-1870* (Cambridge, 1964), p. 1; Stuart C. Miller, *The Unwelcome Immigrant: The American Image of the Chinese, 1785-1882* (Berkeley, 1969), p. 15.

[5]Miller, p. 92; "China and the Chinese", *Southern Literary Messenger* 7 (1841), pp. 137-155.

[6]Rowland T. Berthoff, "Southern Attitudes Toward Immigration, 1865-1914," *The Journal of Southern History* 17 (1951), p. 328; Bert James Loewenberg, "Efforts of the South to Encourage Immigration, 1865-1900," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 33 (October 1934), p. 365; Barth pp. 188, 193-196; James L. Roark, *Masters Without Slaves: Southern Planters in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York, 1977), p. 166.

[7]Frances Butler Leigh, *Ten Years on a Georgia Plantation Since the War* (London, 1883), pp. 145-146.

[8]Sylvia Krebs, "The Memphis Chinese Labor Convention of 1869," (unpublished paper), pp. 1-11.

[9]*De Bow's Review* 6 (July, 1869), pp. 587-588. Steam power was gradually making the water power of Northern factory streams and rivers obsolete.

[10]Leigh, p. 168.

[11]Arnold Shankman, "Black on Yellow: Afro-Americans View Chinese-Americans, 1850-1935," *Phylon* 39 (Spring 1978), pp. 6-9.

[12]Sally Ken, "The Chinese Community of Augusta, Georgia from 1873-1971," *Richmond County History* 4 (1972), p. 52.

[13]*Ibid,* p. 53; James W. Loewen, *The Mississippi Chinese: Between Black and White* (Cambridge, 1971), p. 2.

[14]Takaki, pp. 220-229. Takaki points out that Harte bemoaned the racial hostility that his poem generated.

[15]Mary Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration* (New York, 1909), pp. 15-25; Carey McWilliams, *Brothers Under the Skin* (Boston, 1951), pp. 97-104; Miller, p. 189.

[16]U.S. *Congressional Record,* 47th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1882, pp. 1639-1642, 1984.

[17]Joseph H. Parks, *Joseph E. Brown of Georgia* (Baton Rouge, 1977), p. 548; *Atlanta Constitution,* March 10, 19, 21, 1982; Patrick J. Hearden, *Independence and Empire: The New South's Cotton Mill Campaign, 1865-1901* (Dekalb, Illinois, 1982), pp. 56-57.

[18]*Atlanta Constitution,* February 1, April 5, 1882.

[19]*Chronicle* (Augusta), February 12, March 15, 1882

[20]*True-Citizen* (Waynesboro), April 12, 1882.

[21]Miller, p. 202.

[22]*Burke County, Georgia: Health, Happiness, Prosperity* (Waynesboro, 1921); *True-Citizen,* July 14, 21, 1882.

[23]*Ibid.,* July 28, August 18, September 8, 15, 1882, January 12, 26, 1883; *Herald-Expositor* (Waynesboro), January 31, 1883.

[24]S.A. Darnell to Benjamin Harris Brewster, February 14, 1883, Justice Department Records, Record Group 60, National Archives (hereafter cited as NA). Harrisburg is identified as a small town in Richmond County in Marion R. Hemperly, *Cities, Towns, and Communities of Georgia Between 1847-1862, 8,500 Places and the County in Which Located* (Easley, S.C., 1980), p. 66. The town no longer exists. I found no other reference to the Harrisburg Chinese incident.

[25]Darnell to Brewster, February 14, 1883, Justice Department Records; *Willie Loo Chang v. William A. Wilkins, Robert Neely, et al.,* Southern District of Georgia, case 607, 1883, Justice Department Records, RG 60, NA.

[26]*Herald-Expositor,* February 7, June 20, July 4, August 15, 1883.

[27]*True-Citizen,* February 2, 9, March 23, 1883.

[28]*Atlanta Constitution,* February 3, 10, 1883.

[29]*The New York Times,* March 10, April 1, May 28, June 12, 21, 1883.

[30]*True-Citizen,* June 15, 1883.

[31]*Minutes,* Superior Court, Burke County, Georgia, 1880-1884, p. 491; *True-Citizen,* May 25, 1883.

[32]Darnell to Brewster, March 27, 1884, Justice Department Records; Chang v. Wilkins, Justice Department Records, RG 60, NA. The plaintiff's withdrawal of the suit was written on the original petition.

[33]Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Berkeley, 1971); Robert F. Heizer and Alan J. Almquist, *The Other Californians: Prejudice and Discrimination under Spain, Mexico, and the United States to 1920* (Berkeley, 1970).

[34]Takaki, p. xiv.

[35]Luther Spoehr, "Sambo and the Heathen Chinee: California's Racial Stereotypes in the Late 1870's," *Pacific Historical Review* 42 (May, 1973), pp. 185-204.

[36]Walter T.K. Nugent, *From Centennial to World War: American Society, 1876-1917* (Indianapolis, 1977), 46.

[37]Roger L. Ransom and Richard Sutch, *One Kind of Freedom: The Economic Consequences of Emancipation* (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 126-127, 140.

[38]Roger Aycock, *All Roads to Rome* (Roswell, Georgia, 1981), pp. 227-233. A black man was hanged for the murder of Joe Lee, the Chinese laundryman.

[39]Loewen, pp. 30-31.

The Historical Experience: Georgians in East Asia

Lotus. Traditional Chinese symbol for purity.

John Elliot Ward: A Georgia Elitist in the Celestial Empire, 1858-60

WILLIAM M. GABARD*

Nineteenth-century America's rich agricultural production, nascent industrial system, and flourishing commerce which took Yankee clippers to Asia, encouraged the belief that Protestant Christianity was destined by God, like the nation, to expand to non-Christians, particularly in Asia. While twentieth century cynics may deprecate religious missionary motives, they cannot ignore what was a dynamic, sincere, albeit perhaps misguided, desire by Americans to take the message of Christianity — and "Progress" — to the "heathens" of the world. If domestic concern with slavery disturbed the American conscience, good works among non-Christians would salve it.

It is the purpose of this paper to ascertain the true objectives and behavior of John Elliot Ward, a Georgian who was his country's first official envoy to Peking (Beijing). John Elliot Ward was affected by the religious climate of the nation, the South, and especially Savannah's Bishop Stephen Elliott's Episcopal Church during the period 1840-60. The revival movements of the nineteenth century motivated Episcopalians with a passionate missionary zeal at home and abroad to assume the responsibility later popularized as "white man's burden." Endowed with wealth, class status, and superior educational and cultural advantages, Ward and his co-religionists felt an inevitability and permanence of the spread of "Western Civilization." The people in Ward's social group were as sincere as they were zealous in carrying Christianity, commerce, and civilization to the "heathen" in fulfillment of a moral responsibility. Committed individuals were willing to sacrifice riches, luxuries, ease, and even life, to attain their goals. Against this background, Ward, like his predecessor William B. Reed, could feel a sense of the Divine in his diplomatic mission.

---

*Dr. Gabard is Professor of History and Director of International Studies at Valdosta State College, Valdosta, Georgia, where he has taught since 1948. He received his Ph.D. from Tulane University in 1963, and has published several articles, including "John Elliot Ward and the Treaty of Tientsin," *West Georgia College Studies in the Social Sciences* 11 (June 1972), pp. 26-44. He has served on the Boards of Trustees of the China Council of Georgia and of the Southern Center for International Studies, on the Board of Directors of the Japan-America Society of Georgia, and as Vice President of The Georgia Historical Society.

Nor could Ward escape the arguments of the advocates of an intensified, expanded American commerce with China. If commerce was king, as Reverend William Stevens of Savannah observed, its expansion to Asia, and to China in particular, was highly desirable. The successful United States-China trade had been inaugurated in direct voyages from the Eastern Seaboard in 1783, was carried on principally by the sleek Yankee clippers, and rivalled the China trade of Great Britain. By 1859, *Hunt's*, a leading commercial journal, could report that Americans were importing annually from China twenty million pounds of tea, an abundance of silk, and other commodities for a total of slightly over $82 million.[1] *Hunt's* could see the "alleged antipathy of the Chinese to intercourse with foreigners in a state of change." Possibilities for significant increase in the American trade with China seemed enormous.[2]

To the South, in particular, the prospect for commercial growth raised hopes of an emancipation from economic dependence upon the North. "In all civilized nations," a Southern newspaper observed, "political power has followed the sceptre of commerce." In order to release the South from its agriculturism and economic dependence upon the North, the South was urged to build up port cities as distributing centers for imported items and the general stimulation of trade to balance agriculturism.[3] As a case in point, Savannah's trade for 1859 totaled $16 million, with imports representing less than $1 million.[4] That trade with China could be significant was shown by the arrival in New York harbor in early 1861 of the ship *Phantom* from Shanghai. Described as carrying "one of the most valuable cargoes ever imported into this country from China," the ship's cargo approximated $900,000, consisting mostly of silks.[5]

The admission of California as a state in 1850, her rapid growth of wealth and population because of the gold rush, the trans-isthmian railroad, the plans for transcontinental railroads, and the acquisition of Pacific islands, all offered Americans a chance to challenge the supremacy of England's trade with China. The opening of Japan in 1853-54, coupled with the China trade, offered Americans possibilities which staggered the imagination. After the United States negotiated its Treaty of Tientsin with China in 1858, which provided for the opening of additional treaty ports, the right of consuls to reside at Chinese ports, and other expanded commercial privileges, visions of an expanded trade as well as missionary activity seemed unlimited. Members of Congress, clerics, agriculturalists, manufacturers, and captains were enthusiastic at the prospects offered to Americans under their Tientsin Treaty. Britons and Frenchmen were equally enthusiastic about similar provisions included in their 1858 Tientsin treaties with China.[6]

John Elliott Ward's mission to China was chiefly to exchange ratifications of the Sino-American Treaty of Tientsin. The agreement had been negotiated by Reed in 1858 and had been ratified, with one dissenting vote, by the United States Senate on December 15, 1858, the same day on which Ward's ministerial appointment was approved.[7] That the United States, unlike England and France, had not been at war with China, proved the efficacy, according to President Buchanan, of "peaceful negotiations and the wisdom of our neutrality" in respect to China.[8]

John Elliott Ward had been born October 2, 1814, near Savannah, into a family with strong roots in the Puritan and Presbyterian faiths, where duty, morality, industry, and religious devotion were stressed. After studying at Massachusetts' Amherst College, which was swept by revivalism in 1831, Ward returned to his rural plantation home and affiliated with the Midway Church, a bastion of Calvinistic strength in coastal Georgia. After he moved to Savannah, he became a member of St. John's Episcopal Church. Ward was an intimate friend of Stephen Elliott, rector of St. John's and Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Georgia. Ward's close association with Bishop Elliott added to Ward's awareness about China. Elliott's brother-in-law was William Boone, who served as first Missionary Bishop of the American Episcopal Church in China from 1844 until his death in 1864.[9]

Intelligent, tolerant, mild in disposition, a believer in moderation and compromise, a man of impeccable integrity who was able to play an important role as mediator in the Democratic

Party's bitter fratricidal wars and yet earn the respect of all factions — these were the personal qualities which Ward possessed. Although he had not travelled abroad, his marriage alliance with a Bostonian, his prominent role in national politics and issues, his close relationships with Eastern commercial and shipping families, such as the Lows and Habershams of Savannah, his long-time associations with world-wise clerics like Elliott and Boone and with well-travelled naval officers such as John Kell and Josiah Tattnall—all of these experiences prepared Ward for his China mission.[10]

Ward's mission was to exchange ratifications of the Treaty of Tientsin, to seek permanent residence for an American ambassador at Beijing, and to conclude consular agreements with the Celestial Empire. When William B. Reed prepared to return home from China, he wrote the President to send a "first-rate man" for the Beijing assignment, which he characterized as a "most delicate and interesting one."[11] Savannah, Georgia, Mayor John Elliott Ward in the late 1850s was named Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to China by President James Buchanan in gratitude for Ward's help to him in securing the Democratic nomination for the Presidency in 1856. Although this appointment was a political favor, Ward's appointment earned hearty approbation and promised to carry out the President's belief, as outlined in his annual message to Congress in 1858, that California's "peculiar geographical position, and the recent conclusion of treaties with China and Japan, two rich and populous empires," would attract American interest, enterprise, and capital which could lead to American wealth and power in East Asia.[12] The New York *Journal of Commerce* endorsed Ward and noted that he enjoyed a "reputation extending far beyond the borders of his own State."[13] John Elliott Ward met the requirements; his appointment produced no criticism or opposition.

Ward's mission should be viewed in the context of mid-nineteenth century U.S. history. During the nineteenth century, the United States, flushed with the success of an expansionist territorial policy, had attained through war, treaty agreement, and purchase the fulfillment of her continental boundaries, reaching from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans. Denied by her Monroe Doctrine from involvement in European affairs, and peopled by a fecund populace augmented with a steady stream of immigrants, the United States developed a dynamic expansionistic policy during the 1840s and 1850s which boldly proposed purchase or annexation of Cuba and other Latin American areas; commercial treaties with China, Japan, and Siam (Thailand); claims upon vital Pacific islands; and "opening" the "hermit kingdom" of Korea. This brash, imaginative foreign policy supported such auxiliary projects as trans-isthmian and transcontinental railroads, and coexisted with the suppression of Indians, ongoing argument over slavery, divisive political realignments, and major social and economic problems. Such a foreign policy could only occur, according to the beliefs of many Americans, in a nation favored by God who had given her a Manifest Destiny to fulfill. Ebullient, supremely confident, vigorous, enthusiastic, and endowed beyond belief with Nature's resources, the American people, who had given the world a new concept of government, earnestly wanted to share, or impose, its richness of life upon less fortunate people.

John Elliott Ward left Savannah in January 1859.[14] By mid-March Ward was in Paris, where he was presented to Emperor Napoleon III and conversed with the French Minister of Foreign Affairs about China. In Lyons, on March 25, 1859, Ward had a "satisfactory interview" with William B. Reed, who warned his successor that the latter might have "some difficulty" in reaching Beijing.[15] The U.S. steam frigate *Powhatan*, commanded by Commodore Josiah Tattnall, Ward's close friend, was ordered to Singapore to meet Ward. Ward reached Hong Kong on May 10 and spent several days receiving and returning calls from foreign diplomats before proceeding to Shanghai.[16] There Ward was a guest in the residence of Augustine Heard and Company, the second largest American mercantile-commission house in China. George W. Heard, Jr. and Ward's brother Wallace served as legation secretaries. When Ward went to present his official credentials to the Chinese commissioners who had negotiated the Tientsin treaty with Reed, Ward was accompanied

by an escort of American Marines in a long procession which was "well received, and entertained with refreshments, and also a salute from a four pounder." During the next few days, Ward visited American and British residents and naval officers and officials in Shanghai and received many guests aboard the *Powhatan*.[17]

Ward's meeting with the Chinese commissioners also included Reverend Samuel Wells Williams, who had been the acting U.S. chargé d'affaires since Reed's departure, and Reverend W.A.P. Martin, who served as interpreter. Williams recorded that the Chinese representatives offered "no objections to our going to Peking. Nothing seemed further from their minds than the possibility of any trouble in our negotiations this year."[18]

The Chinese requested that Ward accompany British and French envoys going to Beijing to exchange ratifications of their treaties. However, details of the French and British treaties were still under negotiation. Ward therefore decided to unilaterally proceed to Beijing in order to try to comply with the instructions of the U.S. Secretary of State and with the proviso within the Sino-American treaty that ratifications be exchanged before June 18, 1859. Aboard the *Powhatan*, with the *Toeywan* in tow, Ward and his entourage sailed north to the mouth of the Bei Ho (Peiho) River, there hoping to land and proceed immediately to Beijing for the formal exchange of ratifications of the U.S. Treaty of Tientsin, as provided in the treaty itself.

On June 25, at the mouth of the Bei Ho, Ward and Tattnall witnessed the unsuccessful effort of an Anglo-French naval expedition to force its way up the Bei Ho past the heavily-fortified Dagu (Taku) forts. This effort resulted in the repulse of the British and French with heavy losses. Although Ward and Tattnall originally intended to remain neutral, Commodore Tattnall's towing of a helpless British flagship from the line of fire, his visit across the line of fire to the wounded British Admiral Hope, and his troops' shooting at the Chinese from a British gunboat at Dagu led to charges of violation of neutrality from some of Ward's mission and from the Chinese. Although the acts may have violated the letter of the law, Ward and Tattnall defended them as acts of humanity and as reciprocity for services Hope's forces had rendered to U.S. ships on June 24. Tattnall's alleged expression that "blood is thicker than water" gave rise among some writers to the notion that Ward and Tattnall, as Southerners, saw the Sino-Anglo-French conflict as a racial war and wished to help their white Anglo-Saxon brothers. Ward's violation of U.S. neutrality might well have jeopardized his mission. But he was determined to continue to Beijing as if nothing unusual had happened.

Because Ward had been instructed by President Buchanan and Secretary of State Lewis Cass to exchange the treaty ratifications as soon as possible and to maintain a strict neutrality, Ward decided to leave the Dagu war zone and go overland to Beijing from Beitang (Pei-t'ang), a port approximately ten miles north of Dagu. This specific overland routing had been suggested by Chinese commissioners whom Ward had met at Beitang on July 3. On July 20, 1859, Ward and his party left Beitang for Beijing. In conformity with an Imperial Edict of July 14, Ward's party entered Beijing in mule carts, a form of conveyance traditionally reserved for tribute bearers, rather than by the more respectable conveyance of sedan chairs. Ward, Lieutenant Trenchard, and several other *Powhatan* officers reached Beijing about July 27, and were sequestered while discussions were held concerning the possibility of an imperial audience. Although Ward received an autographed letter from the Emperor, Sino-American negotiations bogged down over Ward's refusal to kowtow, or prostrate himself, before the Emperor. After several days of haggling, the Americans left Beijing in disgust. Ratifications of the U.S. Tientsin Treaty were exchanged at Beitang in a brief ceremony before Ward reboarded the *Powhatan*.

Ward's routing, mode of travel, sequestration in Beijing, and failure to see the Emperor, produced controversy among Chinese and westerners alike. To the Chinese, diplomatic residence in Beijing, insisted upon in the Treaties of Tientsin, had been a most humiliating concession. The fifth article of the American Treaty specified only that the American minister should be able to confer in Beijing with a Grand Secretary or any other designated

official of equal rank. Ward, however, on instructions from the U.S. Secretary of State and President, desired to go to Beijing for the exchange of ratifications at the earliest time and to press for a permanent U.S. ministerial residence in that capital city. The Chinese limitation of his party to twenty; their insistence upon the use of mule-drawn carts customarily assigned to those carrying tribute to the Chinese emperor; their concern for Ward's refusal to kowtow; their fear of collusion among the "barbarians," thereby preventing the Americans from seeing the Russians in Beijing—all of these alleged "humiliations" to Ward and his party resulted from the importance Beijing attached to the nature of these embassies, especially in view of the Bei Ho hostilities. Fears well-founded or imagined over possible military invasion, collusion between Russian and American barbarians, and the imposition of alien practices upon the Chinese provoked the Chinese response to America's initial diplomatic mission to Beijing. Given the fact that Ward and Tattnall had compromised U.S. neutrality at Dagu, Ward was fortunate to accomplish his purposes with no more discourtesy from the Chinese than he received.[19]

Ward's journey to Beijing involved, according to his Occidental critics, the acceptance of humiliating conditions imposed by the Chinese government officials to prevent fulfillment of a particularly onerous provision of the Treaties of Tientsin. One of Ward's interpreters, Reverend W.A.P. Martin, believed that because Ward wished to do something "great and good" for China, he erred in accepting the mule carts. Martin wrote two sarcastic, critical letters to the London *Times* about the envoy and the mission's "quasi imprisonment" at Beijing.[20] The British and the French, who resented Ward's unilateral journey to Beijing, generally ridiculed the American minister. Lord Loch reported that Ward "thought he would gain by deplomacy what Mr. Bruce [the English minister] had failed to get by force (at Dagu)." *Blackwood's* ridiculed Ward's "triumphal entry into Peking in a cart, his close confinement, the attempt to make him worship the Emperor, [and] the insult of ordering him back to the seashore for a worthless ratification." Another European account referred to "the great American minster" being carried "in state" in a mule cart. The French minister also wrote disparagingly of the American mission; he believed that Ward had been subjected to numerous indignities which indicated little progress in China's relations with the Western powers. *Punch* and *The Illustrated London News* subjected Ward to merciless ridicule. The former published a malicious, satirical poem entitled "Jonathan's Ride to Peking," in which the Americans reportedly rode "like blacks in a nigger car, ready to eat humble pie" when seeking dollars. *L'Illustration* called the expedition "a defeat no less disastrous than that of the allies before Taku." The journal did commend Ward's refusal to kowtow before the Emperor, praising his "dignity of character."[21]

Many people considered grossly unjust the criticism heaped upon John Elliott Ward. His wife attributed it to a typical characteristic of the English, whom she regarded as "the most arrogant people of the face of the earth."[22] Many American newspapers attributed the Anglo-French criticism to jealousy over American accomplishment of treaty ratification without resort to force and to Anglo-French humiliation over their defeat by China at Dagu. *The New York Times* applauded Ward's behavior in accepting "the professions of good-will made to him by the Chinese authorities with frank and high bred equanimity." It further remarked that the United States would "experience no more practical inconvenience from the sumblime vanity of the Court of Peking than from the self-conceit of dozens of small German dukes and Central Asiatic shahs." The newspaper observed that the United States could "honorably leave" the Anglo-French to force their way "over thousands of human bodies trampling under foot the most sacred convictions of a great people." In brief, Ward's peaceful accomplishment of his mission and his patient, tolerant consideration of cultural sensitivity proved to be more successful than that of the Anglo-French "arrogant and overbearing envoys in precipitating a most lamentable and superfluous catastrophe." The American treaty, unlike the Anglo-French treaties, was "in full vigor and force" due to Ward's action.[23]

The London *Star* observed of Ward's visit that it was "certainly humiliating to England to find the United States so successfully negotiating treaties with China, while she herself, in alliance with France, had failed."[24] The Austrian *Gazette* endorsed Ward's peaceful approaches to Beijing as opposed to the Anglo-French use of force. The *Gazette* wondered how England would feel if a Russian force appeared at the mouth of the Thames with an envoy backed by naval squadron. England and France respected nationalities in Europe but, in forcing trade and envoys upon China, used a policy of "Rascals, you must like us, you must trade with us."[25] In deploring the use of British force in China, Lord Greville wrote that "it required no sagacity to perceive that the arrival at Peking of a victorious ambassador, who had forced his way to the capital at the head of an imposing force, would not serve to make his reception a friendly one, or to establish harmonious relationships" between China and England.[26] Ward's accomplishment of his principal aim, then, far outweighed, many believed, any inconveniences or minor slights. Moreover, a proud man and a proud nation could afford to be tolerant.

The former American charge' d' affaires in China, Reverend Samuel Wells Williams, who accompanied Ward from Shanghai to Beitang to Beijing as one of the legation's secretaries, believed that the Manchu (Qing) dynasty rulers feared that troops accompanying Western envoys into China might overthrow the Qings, as they themselves had overthrown the Chinese in 1644 when invited to Beijing to assist in the ouster of a usurper to the Ming dynasty throne. A longtime resident of China, Williams called the initial interview with Chinese officials friendly. "The officials have," he recorded, "exerted themselves more than I have ever known on a previous occasion to give eclat and parade to this reception." And he rebuked the Anglo-French for failure to avail themselves of a similar peaceful venture rather than resort to arms. The Chinese, he lamented, were "doomed never to be allowed to make their own plans or carry out their own views."

In contrast, John Elliott Ward *did* defer to the sensitivities of the Chinese in the delicate diplomacy concerning the route, modes of conveyance, and size of the official party, and showed respect for opposing views. The mission of twenty, in deference to Chinese wishes, included only three military officers and three marines. The small group, as Williams noted received "politeness and courtesy." Wiliiams noted that, since Ward had never demanded an audience with the Emperor and was in Beijing upon invitation rather than by treaty right, he enjoyed a decided advantage upon the kowtow issue. In turn, the Chinese conducted their argument with "tact and patience." Williams commended Ward for *his* patience, tact, firmness of conviction, and willingness to compromise throughout the entire mission. The legation secretary defended the use of the mule carts. He believed that the Emperor's comment about Ward's mission published in Beijing's gazette marked the first time that a foreign nation was not designated *i*, signifying "barbarian," by the paper, and called it a "moderate" statement. Williams was genuinely disturbed that Hong Kong newspapers discredited Ward's visit to Beijing. "It is sad to see," he also wrote, "the bitterness of these papers against the Chinese," against whom the papers urged "a good thrashing." Williams especially lamented the severe judgment that the Chinese were "pagans" and could not be held to "Christian" practices. The secretary declared that he wrote the details of Ward's mission to correct exaggerated and critical accounts given in England and France.[27]

Another member of Ward's entourage, Reverend William Aitchison, a China resident for many years who served as interpreter, was seriously concerned about the effect of Sino-western hostilities at the mouth of the Bei Ho upon Christian missions in China. "Oh, when will the Prince of Peace extend his peaceful sway over the earth and the nations learn war no more!" he exclaimed. Pleased with what he saw as an American policy of peace, he felt that the "chariots" used were satisfactory, the Chinese military escort colorful and attentive, the food sumptuous, and the Chinese hosts "worthy of respect and affection." He also approved Ward's refusal to kowtow. Aitchison felt that "the kindness we have received could not be well surpassed. All the arrangements proved their desire to gratify our tastes in every particular." Moreover, Aitchison, the clergyman, rejoiced that on July 31, 1859, Christian

services were conducted without interference in "this mighty capital, beneath the shadow of a throne, whose occupant rules over one-third of the human race!" With Ward and Williams he spent two hours in reading aloud and discussing the first epistle of Timothy. Then the group sang such missionary hynmns as "From Greenland's Icy Mountains to India's Coral Sea." No doubt Ward could feel that he was carrying out the hymn's admonition to carry the Gospel to "the heathen."[28]

Resident American merchants gave Ward their "cordial support and approval" for the "able and energetic manner in which you supported the dignity of our country, the successful ratification of our treaty and its speedy promulgation, events alike honorable to yourself and to us as your countrymen." The merchants, who often favored more aggressive policies toward China, strongly endorsed Ward's support of Tattnall's assistance to the Anglo-French and commended the Commodore's gallantry.[29] The favorable views of the Americans were even more significant when one considers the usual view of merchants that treaties with the Chinese needed to be backed up with military force.[30]

In his official despatches to the State Department, Ward indicated that he was reasonably pleased with the outcome of his mission. After the signing of the official receipt for the ratification of the American treaty at Beitang on August 16, 1859, Ward reported that he was received there "with every mark of respect."[31] Privately, he believed that the aggressive Anglo-French methods used at the mouth of the Bei Ho complicated his mission. He acknowledged that Tattnall had perhaps violated "strict neutrality" there, but he observed that the Commodore's behavior did more "to illustrate the gallantry of the American Navy in the eyes of the world than twenty successful engagements would have done." Ward defended his unilateral decision to go to Beijing:

> I frankly told the Admiral [Hope] that my position was different from that of the English and French Ministers; that their treaties were made at a time when they were at war with the Chinese; and that if their treaties were violated, they might consider themselves thrown back into the war which had been terminated or suspended by the treaty; that the American treaty, on the contrary, had been made with a nation with whom we had never been at war.[32]

At home President Buchanan praised his appointee's behavior in China. Ward, a distinguished citizen of Georgia, he declared, was unable to present to the Emperor his letter of credence "in consequence of his very proper refusal to submit to the humiliating ceremonies required by this strange people in aproaching their sovereign." Buchanan endorsed the exchange of ratifications of the treaty at Beitang and noted that, throughout the entire negotiations, the Chinese "appear to have acted in good faith and in a friendly spirit towards the United States. It is true that this has been done after their own fashion; but we ought to regard with a lenient eye. The conduct of our minister has received my entire approbation."[33] So pleased was one Georgian with Ward's accomplishments in China that he seriously proposed the longtime Democratic Unionist as the Party's logical 1860 Presidential standard-bearer.[34]

By late August 1859, Ward and his legation had returned aboard the *Powhatan* to Shanghai, where he received "with great pomp and ceremony" the Emperor's reply to President Buchanan's official letter which accompanied the American ratification documents.[35] After opening negotiations for the implementation of the treaty's provisions for the opening of two additional ports and for the revision of tonnage duties, Ward sailed on September 18 with Tattnall to Japan for a month's visit. Back in Shanghai, Ward issued a November 8, 1859 proclamation regarding the publication of the U.S. Treaty of Tientsin "for the general guidance of all to whom it may concern." He then went to Hong Kong, Guangzhou (Canton), and Macao, where he permitted Chinese authorities to remove 317 coolies from an American ship.[36] Ward advised Congressional action to suppress the "iniquitous" collie traffic which "deeply grieved" him. In April 1860, when the Chinese ports of Fuzhou and Shantou were opened to U.S. commerce in accordance with the U.S. Tientsin Treaty, Ward and the Commodore of the U.S. East India Squadron paid an official visit to

Shantou, met with newly-appointed U.S. consuls, and assured them of continued U.S. military protection and support.[37]

As early as July 1859, Ward had expressed his desire to return to the United States in early 1860.[38] He actually departed in December 1860, after witnessing what he perceived as a shameful Anglo-French re-invasion of the North. In desperation, the Emperor had authorized his officials to urge Ward to mediate with France and England. In reply, Ward, sympathetic with the Chinese, wrote that because of the country's neutrality, he was unable to discuss "the crooked and straight, right or wrong" issues between China and the Anglo-French.[39] When this attempt at mediation failed, England and France, unlike the United States, marched into Beijing, sacked the Summer Palace, and forced the flight of the Emperor to secure ratification of their 1858 Tientsin Treaties and to wring additional privileges from China in the October 1860 Convention of Peking.

John Elliott Ward had spent two years as Minister to China during a critical period in that country's history. He returned to Washington in time to submit his report to the State Department before the outbreak of the American Civil War. Upon returning to Georgia he served the Confederacy on missions to Europe, and also sojourned in China for unclear reasons from late 1863 to the fall of 1865. He later moved with his family to New York where he was a Wall Street lawyer until his death on November 29, 1902. In 1896, when Chinese Foreign Minister Li Hongzhang (Li Hung-chang) visited New York City, it was Ward, the senior American China diplomat, who sat to the right of the senior Chinese statesman at the offical banquet and offered the principal toast.[40]

John Elliott Ward's mission to China was brief but important. In an extremely critical period for China, he brought to Sino-American relations those personal qualities and attitudes which were essential for amicable relations between the two nations. In large measure, his mission presaged the later American "Open Door Policy." Ward's mission laid the groundwork for his successor, Anson Burlingame, who successfully established an American legation in Beijing in July 1862. Faced with a difficult, sensitive diplomatic situation and diametrically opposing views for solution, Ward, as a representative of the peculiar élitist society of Georgia, had displayed firmness of purpose and dignity coupled with genuine concern and compassion for others.

NOTES

[1]"China: Its Trade," *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review* 41 (October 1859), 444.

[2]*Ibid.*, 439-40

[3]*Courier* (Charleston, S.C.), quoted in the Augusta, Georgia, *Daily Constitutionalist*, March 24, 1859 and April 1, 1860.

[4]*Hunt's Merchant's Magazine* 42 (November 1860), 614.

[5]*The New York Times*, February 11, 1861.

[6]Wen-hwan Ma, *American Policy Toward China, as Revealed in the Debates of Congress* (New York, 1970), pp. 18-31, *passim*.

[7]*The New York Tribune*, December 16, 1858; Richardson Dougall and Mary P. Chapman, *United States Chiefs of Mission, 1778-1973* (Washington, 1973), p. 28.

[8]*The New York Times*, December 7, 1858.

[9]For further information of Bishops Elliott and Boone, see: Hermon Batterson, *Sketch-Book of the American Episcopate* (Philadelphia, 1878), pp. 130-31 and 146-47; Doris Kirk Collins, *The Episcopal Church in Georgia from the Revolutionary War to 1860* (Ann Arbor, 1961), pp. 17-31; James Thayer Addison, *The Episcopal Church in the United States*, 1789-1931 (New York, 1951), pp. 150-51; and Albert Sydney Thomas, *A Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina, 1820-1957* (Columbia, S.C., 1957), pp. 24-29, 39, 438. For information on Ward's life, see "John Elliott Ward," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, ed. by Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, XIX (New York, 1928-

1958), pp. 426-27; *United States Diplomatic Officers, 1789-1939* I, p. 1027; and William M. Gabard, "The Confederate Career of John Elliott Ward," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 55 (Summer 1971), 177-207. For more information regarding Georgia's elite of the mid-nineteenth century, the writer has drawn upon the following Georgia family manuscript collections: Bulloch Papers, Gordon Papers, W.R.B. Elliott Papers, Mackay-Stiles Collection, Arnold Appleton Papers, and Alexander H. Lawton Papers, Southern Historical Collections, University of North Carolina; the John McIntosh Kell Papers and Josiah Tattnall, Jr. Letters, Manuscript Department, Duke University; and The Charles Colcock Jones Papers in the Manuscript Collections at Duke and Tulane Universities and The University of Georgia, which provided the basis for Robert Manson Myers, *Children of Pride: A True Story of Georgia and the Civil War* (New Haven 1972). Manuscript collections at the University of Georgia, Georgia State Department of Archives, Emory University and The Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, provided additional information. In addition, the writer has talked with and interviewed numerous descendants of the families listed above, particularly in Savannah.

[10]Based upon a close examination of all information about Ward and correspondence and interviews with his descendants. See also John McIntosh Kell, *Recollections of a Naval Life* (Washington, 1900), p. 65, and Charles C. Jones, Jr., *The Life and Services of Commodore Josiah Tattnall* (Savannah, 1878). pp. 74-78.

[11]W.B. Reed to President James Buchanan, September 2, 1858, in United States Department of State, despatches from U.S. Ministers to China, 1843-1906, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as Despatches, China.)

[12]President Buchanan's 2nd Annual Message to Congress, Deceber 6, 1858, in *The Works of James Buchanan*, ed. by John Bassett Moore, I (Philadelphia, 1908-1912), p. 273.

[13]As quoted in the *Federal Union*, December 7, 1858.

[14]*Daily Morning News* (Savannah), January 17, 1859.

[15]J.E. Ward to Lewis Cass, Secretary of State, March 17 and 26, 1859, in Despatches, China.

[16]See James D. Johnston, *China and Japan* (Baltimore, 1861), pp. 208-11, and Charles Colcock Jones, Jr., *The Life and Services of Commodore Josiah Tattnall*, pp. 77-82.

[17]Stephen Chapman Lockwood, *Augustine Heard and Company, 1858-1862* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), pp. 71-72; William F. Graff, *A Cruise in the U.S. Steam-Frigate Mississippi* (Boston, 1860) pp. 60-65; and Johnston, *China and Japan*, pp. 224-27.

[18]Entry in Journal of S.W. Williams, May 31, 1859, in Frederic Wells Williams, *The Life and Letters of Samuel Wells Williams, L.L.D., Missionary, Diplomatist, Sinologue* (New York, 1889), p. 297, (hereafter cited as Williams, *Life*.)

[19]For a detailed account of the Bei Ho affair and the American mission to Beijing, see: William M. Gabard, "John Elliott Ward and the Treaty of Tientsin," *West Georgia College Studies in the Social Sciences* 11 (June 1972), pp. 26-44; "The Fight on the Peiho," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 86 (December 1859), 647-67; S. Wells Williams, "Visit of the American Embassy to Peking," *The Ecclectic Magazine* 51 (April 1861), 529-37, and 52 (May 1861), 53-63; Williams, *Life*, pp. 299-325; W.A.P. Martin, *A Cycle of Cathay* (New York, 1896), 190-203 and *The Awakening of China* (New York, 1907), pp. 166-69; Charles P. Bush, ed., *Five Years in China* (Philadelphia, 1865); J.W. Foster, *American Diplomacy in the Orient* (Boston, 1914), pp. 245-55; Hosea Ballou Morse, *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire: The Period of Conflict, 1834-1860* (Shanghai, 1910), pp. 471-87; Earl Swisher, *China's Management of the American Barbarians: A Study of Sino-American Relations, 1841-1861, with Documents* (New Haven, Conn., 1951), 571-623; Henri Cordier, *L'Expedition de Chine de 1860* (Paris, 1906), pp. 86-92, and 246-53; Masataka Banno, *China and the West, 1858-1861* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), pp. 110-26; and J.E. Ward's official reports to the Secretary of State for June, July, and August, 1859, in Despatches, China. For more information on the various Chinese officials and their roles in the Bei Ho affair and Ward's mission, see biographical articles in *Eminent Chinese of the Ching Period, 1644-1912*, ed. by Arthur W. Hummel (Taipei, 1964), *passim*.

[20]W.A.P. Martin, *The Awakening of China*, p. 168, and *A Cycle of Cathay*, pp. 196-201, and letters to *The Times* (London), August 10 and 30, 1859.

[21]Henry Brougham Loch, *Personal Narratives during Lord Elgin's Second Embassy* (London, 1903), pp. 16-17; "The Fight on the Peiho," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine 86* (December 1859), p. 653; Robert Swinhoe, *Narrative of the North China Campaign of 1860* (London, 1861), pp. 163-64; Letter of M. DeBourboulon to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, September 1, 1859, in Henri Cordier, *L'Expedition de China de 1857-58* (Paris, 1905), pp. 87-92, *Punch* 27 (October 5, 1859), 432, and (December 3, 1859), 520; *L'Illustration* 34 (November 12, 1859), 338.

[22]Louisa B. Ward to Louisa Bulloch, October 13, 1859, in Bulloch Papers.

[23]See *The New York Times,* October 11, 12, 13, 21, 22, and November 16, 18, 1859.

[24]As quoted in the *Chronicle and Sentinel* (Augusta, Georgia), November 11, 1859.

[25]As quoted in *The New York Times,* October 13, 1859.

[26]Lytton Strachey and Roger Fulford, eds. *The Greville Memoirs* (7 vols., London, 1938) VII, 439.

[27]See: S.W. Williams, *Life and Letters,* pp. 301, 314, 318, 323; the same writer's two articles on "The Visit of the American Embassy," in the April and May, 1861, issues of *Ecclectic·Magazine;* and his "Narrative of the American Embassy to Peking in July, 1859," *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1 (1859), pp. 315-349.

[28]Charles P. Bush, ed., *Five Years in China,* pp. 222, 223, 256-59.

[29]Augustine Heard and Co., et al., to J.E. Ward, November 11, 1859, in *Daily Constitutionalist,* March 21, 1860.

[30]Nathan Albert Pelcovitz, *Old Hands and the Foreign Office* (New York, 1948), Chap. 1, *passim.,* and Stephen C. Lockwood, *Augustine Heard and Company,* p. 64.

[31]J.E. Ward to Lewis Cass, August 20, 1859, in China, Despatches.

[32]J.E. Ward to M_____, June 30, 1859, in *The New York Times,* October 11, 1859.

[33]Third Annual Message to Congress, December 19, 1859, in John B. Moore, ed., *The Works of James Buchanan,* X, 346-347.

[34]*Telegraph* (Macon, Georgia), as reported in the *Constitutionalist,* February 28, 1860.

[35]James D. Johnston, *China and Japan,* p. 297.

[36]J.E. Ward to Lewis Cass, November 19, 1859, and February 24, 1860, in Despatches, China; Williams, *Life,* pp. 325-26.

[37]On coolie trade, see also John Slidell's report from the Seante Committee on Foreign Relations, as quoted in the *Daily Notional Intelligencer* (Washington, D.C.), January 1859.

[38]J.E. Ward to Lewis Cass, July 4, 1859, in Despatches, China.

[39]Imperial Edicts of July 30, 31, 1860, and J.E. Ward to Hengfu, August 4, 1860, in Swisher, *China's Management,* pp. 662-68, 675.

[40]See the writer's article on Ward's Civil War career cited above; *The New York Tribune,* August 30, 1896; and *Morning News* (Savannah), December 1, 1902.

Old pine tree. Traditional Chinese symbol for longevity and endurance.

William L. Scruggs: A Georgian as United States Consul in China, 1879-81

DALE H. PEEPLES*

When William L. Scruggs of Atlanta, Georgia, was selected by President Rutherford B. Hayes in 1879 to go to China as American consul in Zhenjiang, he reluctantly accepted this appointment.[1]

He had served President Grant as American minister to Colombia. But Zhenjiang was remote; he did not know the Chinese language; the climate was unhealthful and uncomfortable; and disagreements with his fellow diplomats, especially George Seward, American minister to China, only worsened the situation.

Nevertheless, Scruggs was keenly aware of the importance of economic ties between Zhenjiang and the United States. He had lost no time in familiarizing himself with the facts. Zhenjiang was one of the old cities of China, with a population over 500,000. The city's success was based on its geographical location at the point where the Grand Canal crossed the Chang Jiang (Yangtze River), approximately forty miles down river from Nanjing and one hundred miles from Shanghai. During The Taiping Rebellion the city was the site of much fighting and suffered substantial destruction. Since that time the Chinese had devoted considerable effort to the rebuilding of this strategically important city.[3]

Scruggs reported to the State Department that during the second quarter of 1879 the prinicpal import was grey shirtlings, mostly from the United States, and that the trade had increased over the past year by 30,950 pieces. Scruggs noted the rising demand for American cotton goods had caused some concern among the British in China. British

---

*Professor Peeples teaches American diplomatic history at Valdosta State College, Valdosta, Georgia, where he has been a member of the faculty since 1964. He received his Ph.D. in American diplomatic history from the University of Georgia in 1964.

merchants charged that the Americans were selling at a loss to dump cotton goods which could not be sold on the domestic market. Scruggs rejected that view and observed that American goods were in demand because of "superior purity and quality." Both British and Chinese conceded that this was true. The American consul did express some concern about the poor quality of packaging of the cotton products and warned that if this was not remedied it might be detrimental to trade.[4]

In a despatch to the State Department on October 20, 1879 the Georgia diplomat reported that he had learned from a Chinese commercial report that the United States in 1878 was the fourth most important trade partner of China, behind Great Britain, India, and Russia. Chinese exports to the United States that year amounted to $9,535,381.25 and imports from the United States were valued at $3,267,064.60 for a total trade of $12,802,445.85. The total trade between China and Great Britain was $61,714,859.10. Scruggs was disturbed by the decreased number of entrances and clearances by American vessles between 1873 and 1878 from 5,001 to 1,018, and decreased tonnage from 3,483,203 to 341,942 tons. Scruggs identified "perhaps the most serious difficulty at present besetting our trade with China" as a system of provincial customs barriers." Arbitrary "seizures" prevailed to the extent that it was "next to impossible either to get foreign goods into the interior, or native products to the treaty ports for exportation."[5]

In addition to his concern with trade, the American consul at Zhenjiang was also concerned with military affairs. Seward asked the consuls in China to report on military preparedness in each consular district. Scruggs responded that the Chinese had impressive fortifications at Silver Island, located a mile down the Chang Jiang from Zhenjiang. He stated that military experts had declared the position to be "impregnable." Both here and at Nanjing were heavy guns manufactured by Krupp of Germany. Scruggs called Zhenjiang a garrison city: some 2,000 soldiers and cavalry were stationed there. The troops were equipped with matchlock rifles. The key to the defense of the city was a large stockade located on a hill behind the city. Here were some 600 men armed with 15 field pieces. He remarked that the soldiers were trained in the British manner and that orders were given in English. The reason for this, Scruggs revealed, was that the new troops could learn the English commands just as easily as Chinese and that by using English they would avoid confusion if the soldiers were ever placed under an English speaking officer. Scruggs remarked that the powder used by the military was foreign-made because the Chinese powder was considered less suitable. He noted that "the high provincial authorities take good care to have as little of this (or any other) powder in the hands of the people as possible. Indeed, they seem to be constantly on the watch for possible insurrections."[6]

Scruggs also had opportunities to observe Chinese religious life. His impression was that Chinese people were "singularly indifferent" to religious affairs. He found evidence of this in the disrepair of their temples, the ignorance of their clergy, and the clergy's lack of impact on the people. Scruggs was impressed by the deep conservatism of the Chinese government in religious matters. They were opposed to virtually any change, and Scruggs commented that in "perhaps no other country under the sun can it be so truly said that it is governed by dead men." He believed that Christianity had made virtually no progress in China. Scruggs wrote that "we occasionally see a Chinaman who is said to be a Christian; but his outer life reveals little, if any, evidences of his new faith. Whatever he may profess of Chrisitanity, seems well nigh concealed in native superstition."[7]

One of the problems which confronted American diplomats in China in 1879 was the question of jurisdiction of the consular courts in China. Minister Seward was engaged in negotiations with the Chinese government to secure a treaty to define jurisdiction. He requested the opinions of the consuls on this topic. Scruggs responded with an elaborate analysis which he felt was of sufficient merit to be sent on to the State Department. He identified China as a "pagan state, and as such, has never fully acknowledged and observed those usages, maxims, and rules universally acknowledged and accepted as binding among Christian states." With this basic difference in approach to jurisdiction, it was necessary to

define jurisdiction and procedure by treaty. He traced out the evolution of legal interaction as defined by diplomatic action. In cases involving Chinese and foreigners, Scruggs thought "the difficulties of amicable adjustments are often very perplexing." With the Chinese and American legal concepts so foreign to each other, it was virtually assured that one party or the other would feel wronged by the legal process. Therefore it would be difficult to work out a system that would be fair to both parties.[8]

In a subsequent despatch Scruggs commented on the defects of the consular judicial system, and he pointed out that merchant consuls frequently were uninformed about the law. Another problem was the attitude of the Chinese governing class which was very hostile to the exercise of judicial power by the merchant consuls. He believed that this attitude was derived from the class distinctions in China between the rulers and the merchants. Scruggs called for a major overhaul of the consular system which he termed "radically defective." He urged legislation which would require appointment of persons trained in the diplomatic service. Scruggs believed that a professional consular corps would be "commensurate with our national dignity and importance as a first class power."[9]

Seward took exception to Scruggs' comments, and put forth the view that Scruggs had misinterpreted the treaty provisions, misunderstood the nature of the problem, and offered the wrong solutions. Seward clearly wanted Scruggs to recant when he asked Scruggs for "a further communication from you, and a frank exposition of the views which may occur to you upon a further consideration of the subject."[10]

To this request for reconsideration of his views, the Georgian responded by defending his position and suggesting that Seward was mistaken in charging that the consul's views were out of step with the State Department's understanding of the terms of the treaties and the nature of the problems. Nonetheless, Scruggs, in an effort to placate Seward, pledged to "adhere strictly to the instructions from the Department enunciated and interpreted by your despatch."[11]

In a later exchange of notes with Seward, Scruggs conceded that the Consular Regulations of 1874 were acceptable. He wrote that

> they are brief, almost to meagerness; and they are simple, possible to feebleness. But until our Consular System shall have been so revised as to render the service more permanent and efficient, like our judiciary at home, they are perhaps better adapted to our Courts in China than a more elaborate and complex system would be.[12]

Moreover, Scruggs continued to believe that parts of the rules were "somewhat foreign to the spirit of the United States laws and jurisprudence," and he continued to urge changes to improve the quality of consular jurisprudence. The discussion between the two men ended at this point because Seward was leaving his position as minister and would soon be replaced by James C. Angell.[13]

The major crisis which arose during Scruggs' tenure at Zhenjiang was over a British-backed scheme for impostion of wharfage fees at Zhenjiang to maintain the port area known as the British Concession and to pay off bonds issued earlier for internal improvements. When Scruggs learned of the scheme he immediately reported to Minister Seward on May 6, 1880. The British would clearly have a major voice in the control of the taxing and expenditures. The appeals process, as Scruggs noted, would be largely in the hands of the British. There would be virtually no American participation in the decision making process, but Americans would have to pay the wharfage fees.[14]

Because Scruggs had not been officially informed of the scheme, he could not formally lodge a protest. Therefore he prepared a memorandum dated May 6, 1880, in which he spelled out the American objections to this effort by the British to increase their influence. The consul held that the plan was not justified by the existing treaties between China and the other powers. Moreover, he denied the legality of the so called British Concession and the increase in power of the municipal council under the proposal would represent an unwarranted assumption of power. Scruggs remarked, "Such an assumption would, if admitted, be a manifest abridgment of treaty rights. It would destroy the foundation of

existing commercial intercourse, by foreigners, in the Chinese Empire." He contended that the municipal body should have jurisdiction over the British only. Scruggs concluded that the proposal "is objectionable; so much so that it can never be seriously entertained by the American Consul."[15]

Scruggs, who constantly informed Seward and the State Department as to his efforts to defeat this British grab for power, soon learned that the British in fact had been trying for five years to win acceptance of similar proposals, but they had been unsuccessful because of lack of support from the Chinese and other foreigners. Scruggs uncovered information which caused him to suggest that two men were responsible for the present proposal in order to promote their own selfish ends. One of them, Sir Robert Hart, who was the Inspector General of Customs, was a large landowner in the area and stood to benefit financially. The other, Mr. Kleinwachter, Commission of Customs at Zhenjiang and a member of the municipal council, stood to gain political power. Although Scruggs held the British to be back of this scheme, he assured his superiors that the controversy had not impaired his "very cordial relations" with the British consul; indeed, at that very moment Scruggs was looking after the affairs of the British consulate during the absence of its consul.[16]

Scruggs renewed his attack on the wharfage dues plan with a second memorandum on July 10, 1880, in which he again claimed that no such local tax would be in compliance with treaty provisions. He suggested that the ends desired could be achieved without imposing such dues if the Inspector General would "appropriate the tonnage fees, collected from the foreign vessels at this port, as contemplated by the treaty, in order to accomplish the end desired." The consul then commented that the improvements would benefit the property owners in the British Concession and they, not the persons outside, should be taxed. Finally, he expressed opposition to the decision making process which favored the British.[17]

On that same day, July 10, 1880, Scruggs forwarded to Seward a modified version of the plan which the local taotai, or provincial official, had prepared at the insistence of Commissioner of Customs Kleinwachter. This modified plan was then submitted by the taotai to the foreign consuls for their approval. As far as Scruggs was concerned the changes were cosmetic and the basic flaws remained. It still was essentially a plan "for paying a private indebtedness at the expense of the public," and it also included an "unwarranted assumption of eminent domain, which if once admitted will seriously impair treaty rights and undermine the present system of commercial intercourse, at the Chinese open ports.[18]

By September 13, 1880, Scruggs could claim victory in his fight against the wharfage dues scheme. He reported that the taotai was now opposed to the plan. The Chinese official informed Scruggs that he had given support to the plan because Kleinwachter had told him that the American consul was in favor of the plan. Scruggs then showed the taotai the memorandum of May 3 to prove that Kleinwachter had misrepresented the American position. By this time Scruggs could also report that the acting British consul had come to the conclusion that the scheme would fail and assured Scruggs that he would seek to discourage further attempts to push the proposal. The Commissioner of Customs was threatening to carry the issue to Beijing (Peking), but it appeared that he had almost no chance of success.[19]

Both Seward and his successor, James Angell, supported Scruggs' efforts to resist this illegal maneuver by the British. Angell wrote to Scruggs that "I take pleasure in expressing my approbation of the position you have taken in opposition to the proposed 'Regulation.'" He repeated his praise of Scruggs' handling of the problem in a despatch to Secretary Evarts. At the end of the negotiations, Angell expressed the view that "this result is probably due in some degree to your lucid and forcible presentations of objections to it." Scruggs could take some satisfaction that his service at Zhenjiang was crowned with success.[20]

In spite of Scruggs' efforts to return home or to be transferred elsewhere, due to his family's illness in Georgia and his illness in Zhenjiang, Scruggs had to accept re-assignment to Guangzhou, China, in June, 1880.[21]

Scruggs officially assumed his new post at Guangzhou on November 15, 1880. There he

found that conditions were less than satisfactory. The furnishings of the consulate were "rather meager." He soon requested permission to hire a constable. His predecessors had called upon consulates of other countries to aid whenever the services of a constable were required. Scruggs complained that "such practices illy [sic] comport with that dignity and independence which other first class powers are careful to maintain in China."[22]

As American consul at Guangzhou, Scruggs was concerned about the failure of his country to take advantage of the potential trade with China. On April 2, 1881, he reported to the State Department that only two American ships had visited Guangzhou during the previous six months, and his impression was that the situation was similar at other Chinese ports. He bemoaned the decline of the American merchant marine from the time of the Civil War when the blockade and the success of Confederate commerce raiders caused a significant decrease in the number of American merchant ships. Since the Civil War the Congress had been willing to give adequate support to the merchant marine. The result was, in his opinion, that the United States was "no longer either a great commercial or a great naval power." The situation would impair the efforts of American merchants to expand trade between China and the United States.[23]

The most important diplomatic event during Scruggs' service in Guangzhou was the wreck of the *James Bailey*. The *James Bailey*, of Portland, Maine, sailed from Hong Kong on October 14, 1880 for Vancouver Island. It encountered a storm which resulted in the vessel going aground near Wenchang on the coast of Hainan Island about 2:00 a.m. on October 17, 1880. The crew of twenty-two men under the command of Captain Joseph W. Mann survived the wreck. The Chinese in the area took advantage of the opportunity to strip the ship. Captain Mann and his men were befriended by Fu Shun, a native of Hainan who could speak English. They journeyed overland to Haikou, where Mann requested and received the aid of James Scott, acting British consul at that place. Scott contacted the Chinese officials and demanded protection for the vessel and appropriate action against the looters. The local taotai ordered a detachment of police to the scene and initiated action to recover the lost property or to fix the responsibility for the theft. The American arranged for transportation to Hong Kong aboard the *Cassandra*. Consul Mosby advised the State Department of the situation and suggested that the government might want to "demand indemnity of this outrage from the Chinese Government." He also requested that Rear Admiral John M.B. Clitz, United States Asiatic Squadron Commander, send a naval vessel to the scene to conduct an investigation. The consul at Guangzhou, C.P. Lincoln, who had jurisdiction over the area where the wreck took place, advised the State Department of the incident on November 3, 1880, two weeks before he was replaced by Scruggs.[24]

Admiral Clitz, as requested by Mosby, directed Commander Charles L. Huntington to take the *Alert* to Hainan and to conduct an official investigation to determine the facts concerning the looting of the *James Bailey*. He learned that the Chinese authorities had acted swiftly to punish the guilty parties and to recover the stolen property. The Chinese cooperted fully with Huntington's investigation. Unfortunately, Huntington was not authorized to negotiate a settlement nor was he accompanied by the consul who could have done so.[25]

When Mr. Lincoln turned over the consulate at Guangzhou to Scruggs the case was pending. Scruggs contacted the viceroy, who assured him that the proper instructions had been issued to the local officials at Hainan to punish the persons responsible and to recover the missing property. The consul also learned that the owners of the *James Bailey* had sold the wreck at auction to a German firm in Hong Kong on November 6, 1880 for two hundred dollars. The new owners promptly informed the Guangzhou consulate of their claim against the Chinese government for $8,850.00 for damages done to the ship after the purchase. Captain Mann filed a claim for $7,445.75 on behalf of the original owners, crew, and himself. Scruggs refused to take any action on the claims until he could determine all the circumstances.[26]

By April 3, 1881, Scruggs had a copy of Commander Huntington's report and had completed his own inquiry. He informed the State Department that the local Chinese

officials on Hainan had turned over to him the compass and sextant which had been stolen from the ship. The viceroy inflicted punishment on the person responsible and "he is still detained by the local magistrate as a kind of hostage for the missing articles." Scruggs did not expect any substantial restoration of the items still missing, and he anticipated that it might be necessary to demand a financial settlement. He suggested to the viceroy that a financial adjustment could be arranged and the sum raised by a levy imposed on the Hainan area.[27]

In regard to the claims, Scruggs believed that Mann's claim was "extravagant and unreasonable." Commander Huntington unofficially estimated the loss at between two and three thousand dollars. Scruggs was skeptical of the claim by the new owners because of the German nationality of the owners. Although one of the owners claimed to be a naturalized American citizen, he had no proof of this. Nor was there any evidence to prove damage to the ship after the transfer of title. Finally, Scruggs believed that the claim was so exaggerated "as to render the claim itself preposterous, for the claimants made the purchase as a venture, paying only two hundred dollars therefore, and, by the very terms of the sale, assuming all risks." He thought it possible to negotiate a settlement which would be for less than half of the original owners', crew's and Captain Mann's claims and no more than actual losses by the German company, if any. Scruggs promised to keep the State Department fully informed of the negotiations.[28]

Eventually Scruggs was able to settle the claims for owners, crew and Mann for two thousand dollars and no award was made for the Germans. While this was less than he had expected when he entered into the negotiations, it was all he felt could be obtained from the Chinese. Much of the damage to the *James Bailey* was the direct result of the storm, and compensation for such damage could not be expected. In the negotiations Scruggs was mindful of the need to be fair to both sides. He observed, "Whilst this sum is a great deal less than the aggregate of the claims presented by the claimants, it is, in my judgment, an equitable equivalent for all actual losses sustained by reason of the robbery." Although the German company, Messrs. Blackhead & Co., received no compensation in the settlement, this was fair because it had no real loss. In fact, the company which had purchased the wreck for $200 resold it to a German businessman for $2,800.[29]

While Scruggs was successful in arranging a settlement of the *James Bailey* case, he found himself engaged in a controversy with Minister James B. Angell over his failure to keep Angell informed. Angell first learned of the loss of the ship from the British minister to China, Sir Thomas Wade, who showed Angell a despatch from acting Consul Scott. The American diplomat related the information to Secretary of State Evarts in a despatch of November 20, 1880, in which he mentioned that he was expecting a report on the incident from the consul at Hong Kong or from Consul Lincoln at Guangzhou. He promised that if the matter could not be settled at the consular level, he would demand satisfaction from the Imperial government. After waiting weeks without word from the consuls, Angell wrote Admiral Clitz and gained from him a copy of Huntington's report. After more weeks without communication from the consuls, Angell wrote Scruggs on January 12, 1881, and was surprised to learn from Scruggs that Lincoln and Scruggs had reported directly to the State Department without informing the legation. In a despatch to Evarts, Angell observed that view of the possibility that the case might require action by the minister, "it is surprising to me that it should not have occurred to either Mr. Lincoln or Mr. Scruggs to write me about it." He reported that he had written to Scruggs to express his amazement and to instruct the consul to keep the legation informed if a similar situation should evolve in the future. Angell also suggested that in the future the consul at Hong Kong might be required to report on all maritime disasters in that area directly to the legation.[30]

While the handling of the *James Bailey* case was being discussed, Scruggs was seeking leave to return to the United States. He wrote to President James A. Garfield on April 5, 1881, informing the President that when he agreed to go to China in 1879 he had been promised early leave to return home. The Georgian reviewed his health problems and the warning by his doctors that his continued stay in China would endanger his life. Scruggs

wrote "under all circumstances it would be madness to disregard their warning." He requested a sixty day leave with permission to return to theUnited States and reminded the President that "a word from you ,Sir would settle the whole matter."[31]

The State Department granted the leave, and Scruggs arrived in Atlanta on August 13, 1881. He was never to return to China; after months of leave, he was appointed minister to Colombia in 1882.[32]

Scruggs' years in China were unhappy for him because of loneliness and sickness. He was a feisty fighter for his views and reputation, and thus much of his time was spent in controversy with his fellow diplomats in China. He worked diligently to improve the consulates to which he was assigned. Scruggs was successful in resisting the wharfage scheme and in negotiating a settlement of the *James Bailey* case. He was an efficient and effective representative of his country under very difficult circumstances.

NOTES

[1]For more information on Scruggs, see: "William Lindsay Scruggs," in Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., *Dictionary on American Biography* (22 vols., New York, 1928-1958), XVI, 520-21; Theodore D. Jervey, "William Lindsay Scruggs — A Forgotten Diplomat," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 27 (July 1928), pp. 292-309.

[2]William L. Scruggs to Sevelean Brown, May 26, 1979, in U.S. State Department, Despatches from United States Consuls in Chinkiang (Zhenjiang), 1864-1902, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as Despatches, Chinkiang.); Scruggs to Charles Payson, July 18, 1879, in Despatches, Chinkiang.

[3]Sruggs to Payson, October 29, 1879, in Despatches, Chinkiang; Scruggs to Payson, August 28, 1879, in Despatches, Chinkiang; George Seward to William M. Evarts, Ovtober 10, 1879 and February 23, 1880, in U.S. State Department, Despatches from U.S. Ministers to China, 1843-1906, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as Despatches, China.); Scruggs to Payson, February 4, 1880, in Despatches, Chinkiang.

[4]Scruggs to Payson, August 4, 1879, in Despatches, Chinkiang.

[5]Scruggs to Payson, October 20, 1879, in Despatches, Chinkiang.

[6]Scruggs to Payson, February 17, 1880, in Despatches, Chinkiang.

[7]Scruggs to Payson, August 17, 1880, in Despatches, Chinkiang.

[8]Scruggs to Payson, November 19, 1879, in Despatches, Chinkiang.

[9]Scruggs to Payson, November 20, 1879, in Despatches, Chinkiang.

[10]Copy of Seward to Scruggs, December 3, 1879, attached to Scruggs to Payson, December 19, 1879, in Despatches, Chinkiang.

[11]Copy of Scruggs to Seward, December 15, 1879, attached to Scruggs to Payson, December 19, 1879, in Despatches, Chinkiang.

[12]Copy of Scruggs to Seward, March 6, 1880, attached to Scruggs to Payson, March 10, 1880, in Despatches, Chinkiang.

[13]*Ibid.*

[14]Copy of Scruggs to Seward, May 6, 1880, attached to Scruggs to Payson, July 3, 1880, in Despatches, Chinkiang.

[15]Copy of Memorandum of May 6, 1880, attached to Scruggs to Payson, July 3, 1880, in Despatches, Chinkiang.

[16]Scruggs to Payson, July 14, 1880, in Despatches, Chinkiang.

[17]Copy of Memorandum of July 10, 1880, attached to Scruggs to Payson, July 14, 1880, in Despatches, Chinkiang.

[18]Copy of Scruggs to Seward, July 10, 1880, attached to James B. Angell to William M. Evarts, October 27, 1880, in Despatches, Chinkiang.

[19]Copy of Scruggs to Angell, September 13, 1880, attached to Angell to Evarts, October 27, 1880, in Despatches, China.

[20]Copy of Angell to Scruggs, September 23, 1880, attached to Angell to Evarts, October 27, 1880, in Despatches, China.

[21]Scruggs to Evarts, January 11, 1880, and to Payson, March 19, April 28, and August 24, 1880, in Despatches, Chinkiang. Copy of James White to Denny, October 11, 1880, attached to Denny to Payson, December 18, 1880, in Despatches, Shanghai.

[22]Scruggs to Payson, November 16, 1880 and November 30, 1880, in U.S. State Department, Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Canton (Guangzhou), 1790-1906, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as Despatches, Canton.)

[23]Scruggs to Payson, April 2, 1881, in Despatches, Canton.

[24]Mosby to John Hay, October 30, 1880, in Despatches, Hong Kong; C.P. Lincoln to Payson, November 3, 1880, in Despatches, Canton.

[25]Copy of Huntington's Report attached to Scruggs to Payson, December 7, 1880, in Despatches, Canton.

[26]Scruggs to Payson, December 7, 1880, in Despatches, Canton.

[27]Scruggs to Payson, April 3, 1881, in Despatches, Canton.

[28]*Ibid.*

[29]Scruggs to Payson, May 24, 1881, and June 3, 1881 in Despatches, Canton.

[30]Angell to Evarts, November 20, 1880 and March 19, 1881, in Despatches, China.

[31]Scruggs to James A. Garfield, April 5, 1881, in Despatches, Canton.

[32]Scruggs to Payson, June 28, 1881, August 13, 1881 and October 14, 1881, in Despatches, Canton; *Atlanta Constitution*, April 16, 1882.

Dafodil. Traditional Chinese symbol for feminity.

Feminism and Methodist Missionary Activity in China: The Experience of Atlanta's Laura Haygood, 1884-1900

LINDA MADSON PAPAGEORGE*

There exists an impressive amount of literature concerning the failure of Protestant missionaries to convert China to Christianity. Relatively little of this literature considers the role played by women in the missionary endeavor.[1] Although the China missionary field was one area of religion open to American women in the nineteenth century, important questions arise: Why was this particular field open to women? What kinds of women entered it and why? What was the nature of the missionary woman's spiritual consciousness? On what basis or terms did women participate with men in the China missionary movement? What was the effect of their participation, if any, on China? Although few extant studies concerning women's missionary activities consider such issues, these questions can be answered for the experience of Laura Askew Haygood of Atlanta.[2]

---

*Professor Papageorge teaches American history at Kennesaw College, Marietta, Georgia. In 1973 she received her Ph.D. in U.S. diplomatic history and modern Chinese history from Michigan State University, where she worked under Paul A. Varg. She is the author of "Completing the Open Door Policy: Sino-American Reapproachment During the Boxer Uprising," *Selected Papers in Asian Studies* 1 (1976). The original version of this article was first published in the *Proceedings and Papers of the Georgia Association of Historians*, 1982, and is republished with that publication's permission.

Between 1884 and 1900 Haygood was a missionary-educator for the Woman's Board of the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in its "Woman's Work for Woman" project in China. She is an appropriate subject for historical inquiry because of the nature of the work she accomplished overseas, and the relationship that existed between her missionary activities and her feminist and religious consciousness. The Haygood story identifies religious roots of feminism and the involvement of women in American-East Asian relations, since being a foreign single woman missionary eventually offered an acceptable career alternative to becoming a homemaker. In addition, Haygood's experience shows how some American Christians viewed the Chinese and their culture. Her life history could contribute to a collective biography of western women in religious vocations in East Asia.

American Methodists had initiated missionary activity in China in the late 1840s, but the American Civil War had interrupted this work. In the post-war recovery decade of the 1870s interest in Christianizing China revived and increased in momentum during the 1880s and 1890s. In the 1870s a small group of zealous southern women organized to convert the women and children of "heathen" lands. Conservative church members, both men and women, opposed the idea of a woman's missionary society. According to Mrs. Francis Butler, first editor of the *Woman's Missionary Advocate*, conservative women were afraid because they had "lived at ease in Zion without a thought of personal obligations distinct from father, brother or husband." Male opposition stemmed from a "chivalrous feeling" that Southern women should retain their old-time unobtrusiveness, without any desire to assert their own personality, even in Christian work, or to engage in anything, other than social obligations, that would call them out of their sheltered homes.[3] After burying the activist women's petition in committee in 1874, the Southern Methodist General Conference of 1877 finally authorized a woman's missionary society on condition that it was subordinate to the Conference's Board, which would appoint the woman's missionary society's Executive Committee. The activist women agreed and organized in 1878.

The years of Haygood's residence in China coincide with the beginning of organized missionary activity on the part of the Woman's Missionary Society (WMS) of the Southern Methodist Church. Until her arrival the society supported only two women in China, Mrs. W.R. Lambuth, who had gone with her husband before the Civil War, and Miss Lochie Rankin, who had gone in 1879. A native of Georgia who had lived most of her life in Atlanta, Haygood arrived in Shanghai, China, in the autumn of 1884. She lived there continuously, except for a two-year visit home from 1894-96, until her death on April 29, 1900.

Missionaries adopted practices suitable to the situations in which they found themselves. The WMS directed its missionary activities in China toward Chinese women and children. This policy rested on their presumption that "the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world." The women missionaries apparently believed the maxim to be applicable to China without any extensive investigation into Chinese society. The WMS viewed Chinese women as powerful forces in society, capable of influencing the opinions of their fathers, husbands, brothers and sons, and able, therefore, to transform China from a pagan into a Christian land. A missionary's story printed in an *Annual Report* was illustrative of how closely this belief was held. According to the missionary:

> the Chinaman is an individual with some backbone in him, but a Chinese woman has several backbones in her. Once a builder would not give (the missionary) an estimate for a building because the builder's wife was not at home, saying he never gave estimates without consulting her. On being asked why, he replied: 'Well, if you were married to her, you would not ask why.'

The missionary's conclusion was that "If this shows the immense power and ascendency of woman in the home in China, how important (it is) that she be brought as speedily as possible under the influence of Christian education."[4] The article did not deal with the more complex questions of whether the anecdote was *proof* or *example*, or whether the example was valid.

If the missionary program was based on a false assumption, wasn't it doomed from the start?

Nevertheless, missionaries in the field, including native Chinese clergymen, nurtured the belief of the importance of Chinese women. Missionary work appears to have become based on faith, or isolated example, rather than fact. Particularly influential in spreading the supposition of the importance of Chinese women to the missionary effort was Young J. Allen, a male Methodist missionary, educator, administrator, writer and publisher, who had gone to China before the Civil War and who served as WMS's agent from 1878 to 1886 and as its superintendent from 1886 until 1889. Allen's report on a missionary meeting held in China in 1884 emphasized his perception of the urgency and value of a woman's work in evangelization of China. He cited several reasons presented by native clergymen to support his opinion. According to the native clergymen, Chinese men "cared little for spiritual ideas or things."[5] Chinese women, on the other hand, had a highly developed religious sentiment, nurtured in "the recesses of the inner apartments in the kitchen, and more or less regularly at the temples." They also appeared to express a "spirit of devotion and a longing for spiritual light and consolation."[6] Chinese women might well be easier targets for missionary activity than men, irrespective of their presumed power or ascendency. The native clergymen also maintained that the pious example of the mothers in the family had led to the establishment of Buddhism and Taoism in China and that it would likewise lead to the triumph of Christianity. Finally, according to Allen, "Woman's Work for Woman" was necessary for a practical reason: male clergy, whether foreign or native, had no access to Chinese women. In Allen's summation "'Woman's Work for Woman' in China has attained the commanding position of being a practical necessity, not only for the salvation of woman but of the family as a whole, and the ultimate introduction of the Christian religion."[7] Because of the presumption propagated by Allen that China would become Christian only through its women and that only female missionaries could approach the women, Southern Methodists became especially receptive to the notion of women missionaries concentrating their efforts primarily on the women and girls of China.

Haygood's personal philosophy and goals in life harmonized with the policy and objectives of the WMS. If Haygood is an accurate model, the women who went to China as missionaries were well-educated, sensitive, romantic, idealistic, energetic, and hard working. They were also activists, unmarried and devout Christians - in Haygood's case one would have to say intensely religious. These attributes derived from a highly developed religious consciousness which served as the organizing principle in a woman missionary's life.[8]

Haygood's religious consciousness made her an especially zealous missionary. In her understanding, a Christian was by definition a missionary. A Christian must act like Christ. Therefore, he must continue Christ's work of preaching the word of the Father to all His children.[9] In a letter to Dr. Allen she wrote:

> It seems to me that our only hope for the world in darkness is that men and women into whose hearts the light of the knowledge of the glory of God has shined in the face of Jesus Christ should come into living sympathy with Christ's thought for the world, and should come to know that they are - every one - called to *fellowship with Him* in saving the world.[10]

A Christian must look after the spiritual and physical needs of suffering peoples everywhere.

Haygood's religious consciousness not only made her a missionary; it also made her a feminist. The obligation to continue Christ's mission had devolved on Christian women as well as men. In an essay written shortly before she left for China she deplored her sisters' lack of concern for the plight of "the heathen:"

> We, the women, as well as our brothers - have been slow to understand that she was included in the Saviour's gracious words to the Father 'As thou hast sent me into the world, even so have I sent them into the world.' To her as well as to him was given the commission to teach and to testify of the risen Christ; upon her as well as on him came the pentecostal gift of tongues.[11]

She blamed society for women's lack of concern for others. In her opinion parents and teachers taught women to value the wrong things, "the perfect report, the medal, the honor,

the applause of the world, a brilliant entrance into society."[12] Consequently, continued Haygood,

> she spends hours at the piano though she has not special talent for music; she begins to paint impossible pictures, or, even worse, she *stitches* away her life, with its golden opportunities for health and strength, in ruffles and tucks and embroideries.

Why have we not told her, asked Haygood, that "to grace her home, to make it bright and beautiful and good, is indeed womanly and wise, but *must not* absorb all of love and time and mind?"[13]

Haygood was a missionary at home first and only later abroad. With two other women she had organized the home mission work of Trinity Methodist Church in Atlanta. For several years she found this work competely abosrbing.[14] Although she sympathized with Dr. Allen's problems concerning the lack of personnel for the China mission, she did not herself feel a "call" to go.[15] Perhaps the responsibility of caring for her invalid mother blocked the way. After her mother's death in 1883 Haygood admitted that, to her own surprise, she found herself gravitating toward the China mission.[16] While listening to a sermon by Dr. Potter at Trinity Church she felt the personal call to go to China. She wrote Dr. Potter that "within the last ten days I have come to feel that if the work of God in China needs women, there is no woman in all the world under more obligation to go than I am."[17]

Haygood's religious consciousness had wedded her to missionary work, but not necessarily to "foreign" missionary work. Other factors contributed to her decision to become a foreign missionary. As she explained, there was, first, the dire need for workers. Secondly, she had the necessary qualifications.[18] The Woman's Board required that its missionaries have teaching or administrative experience. Haygood had both, by virtue of a long teaching career in Sunday school and in Atlanta's Girls' High School, her principalship of Girls' High, and her presidency of the Trinity Home Missionary Society.[19] Finally, she was "free" to go. The Woman's Board required that its missionaries be unmarried and that they so remain so for five years or repay the cost of their outfit and travel to China, usually from $1300 to $1500.[20]

Haygood's experience led her to modify her views on the status of women. She at first approved of the requirement that women missionaries be unmarried. In her early years she seemed to feel that for women the vocations of marriage and family life, and missionary activity, were incompatible.[21] Women apparently could not be wives, mothers, and missionaries simultaneously. She did not recognize a similar conflict in men between the vocations of husband, father, and missionary. In time, she changed her mind.[22] Several factors contributed to Haygood's change of mind concerning the relation of the married woman to missionary work: the demands of the work in China; the scarcity of workers; and the remarkable performances of missionary wives, especially in day schools run by the Methodist Church.[23] Consequently she influenced the Woman's Board to change its policy regarding the wives of missionaries. That policy had permitted women to be missionaries as long as they remained single. If they married another missionary they became a missionary wife, received no salary, and often continued to do the same work on a reduced scale but without any supervision. Haygood advised the Board to recognize missionary wives as associate missionaries. The Board adopted her proposal, allowed the associate missionaries to participate in annual missionary meetings, but denied them the right to vote.[24] Haygood's attempt the following year to gain associate missionaries the right to vote failed.[25] However, her action brought the activities of missionaries' wives under the control of the Woman's Board and thereby elevated their status.

Haygood also advanced the cause of feminism in China missionary work by helping to open the career to older women. Haygood herself failed to meet the Board's age requirement. She was approximately thrity-nine years old at the time of her appointment, whereas the Woman's Board required its missionaries to be between the ages of twenty-two and thirty years, later extended to thirty-five years. Nevertheless, it had also provided for exempting the "exceptional" woman, which Haygood was deemed to be.[26] In China, her age

proved an asset, as did her gray hair, large physique, and eyeglasses. Anna Brown testified to the fact in 1892, on the occasion of the formal opening of McTyeire School, which Haygood helped establish. One Chinese man inquired about Haygood's age. Her associates informed him that she was nearly fifty and grayhaired. Mrs. Brown noted that "all of these (attributes) are prominently respectable in the eyes of the Chinese. Truly no real young woman could open the school. Miss Haygood's age and experience are simply invaluable."[27] To Mrs. Brown, the Chinese awe for seniority vindicated the exception the Board had made in Haygood's case, in favor of an older woman. Haygood's achievements in China might facilitate the acceptance of older women for missionary duty in China thereafter.

In appointing Haygood to the China Mission, the Woman's Board intended that she would lead the woman's work in Shanghai.[28] For the first five years she worked with Dr. Allen, an association that worked well because she agreed with his plans. Before taking over responsibility for the work there, she had managed to learn the Chinese language and cope with illnesses induced by the climate. This was all the more remarkable for a thirty-nine year old grayhaired woman. In 1889 Methodist Bishop Wilson appointed her superintendent of woman's work in the Shanghai District. In that capacity she managed all the business affairs of the Woman's Board there and coordinated the Society's educational and evangelistic activities as well.[29]

Southern Methodists had several approaches which they could follow in promoting Christianity in China. These included preaching and/or teaching.[30] Some missionaries argued in favor of exclusively evangelistic activities because they believed secular educational projects distracted a potential convert from theology. Those who promoted secular education, on the other hand, viewed it as a means to an end. Because of its practical value, secular education would attract the Chinese. While giving the Chinese a practical education, the missionaries could at the same time instill Christian principles in them. The latter method seemed to many to offer more return for the money and effort invested.

The WMS in its "Woman's Work for Woman" project developed a methodology which combined the educational and evangelistic approaches. The society viewed the two as interdependent. Teaching was preaching and vice versa. Educational activities served as a springboard into evangelistic work. Missionaries would provide a secular education in which they would inculcate Christian principles and practices. They would teach the Chinese to read the Bible as well as the Chinese classics. The schools were essential to the evangelical work of the society.[31] The missionaries regarded children as the keys with which they would gain the vital access to Chinese mothers at home.[32] To convert the woman in the home was the real focus of the "Woman's Work for Woman" project. The missionaries would visit the home, preach the gospel and invite the women to come to church for prayer meetings and Bible instruction. The missionaries would then recruit adult female converts, or "Bible women," who would further proselytize among other Chinese. The "Bible Women" project, related to the school project, was especially well thought of and financed by American supporters of the China mission.[33] Because of the "Bible Women" project and girls' schools were considered by WMS their best methods for achieving the evangelization of China, they became WMS's principal activities.

It is possible to argue that Young J. Allen was responsible for the WMS's methodology. Yet if the Woman's Society followed Allen's lead, it was perhaps because it found his philosophy and methods acceptable. They were identical in basic features to those the women were employing in their home mission work.[34]

Haygood, in her activities on behalf of WMS, offers an example of a Victorian female missionary as a capable administrator. The McTyeire Home and School which she helped establish in Shanghai embodied the WMS's philosophy and methods. Although the idea was Dr. Allen's, Haygood helped make the school a reality. She proposed a novel way of funding the school without borrowing money already pledged to other projects. It consisted of selling shares in the school at ten dollars each to individuals and groups. Although Haygood only arrived in Shanghai in the autumn of 1884, the Woman's Board adopted her proposal and

before its 1885 meeting had adjourned, the members had pledged eight hundred and twenty shares.[35] Haygood also located suitable property for McTyeire, arranged for the school's construction, and furnished it between 1884 and the school's opening in 1892. She was the school's main guiding force in the first years of its actual operation.

While Methodist "day schools" serviced Chinese girls from lower social classes, McTyeire School was primarily for upper-class Chinese girls whose parents disliked charity schools. It paralleled the Southern Methodist's Anglo-Chinese College for Boys. The Woman's Board planned that the school would eventually be self-supporting since wealthy Chinese could well afford to pay to educate female children.[36] The "hand that rocks the cradle rules the world" philosophy was evident. Given a Chinese woman's presumed influence with the men in her family, it would be best to focus on the women of the powerful Chinese upper class, as a way to ultimately Christianize China's ruling class. In this way Southern Methodism might make its greatest impact.

Based on the history of Haygood's McTyeire School, it is impossible to determine whether WMS pursued the most profitable course in its missionary endeavors in China. As indicated earlier in this paper, the society's basic premise was questionable. American women in the late nineteenth century had already discovered the "the hand that rocked the cradle" yielded limited power and influence because it could not cast the ballot. That China was less conservative or paternalistic than America was problematical. What is definite is that Haygood's methodology, evangelization through education of upper class women, did not turn China into a Christian nation. The missionary enterprise may have helped to convert or westernize an infinitesimally small elite of upper class women in an overwhelmingly peasant society, but it did not change China.[37]

It is possible to make limited conclusions concerning Haygood's life and its significance. Her life was a success by her own standards. She did not experience a dichotomy between what she believed and what she did. Hers was a totally integrated personality; she was a fulfilled person. Her religious consciousness and her intense Christianity seem to have largely contributed to this fulfillment. Because of it she became a feminist, went to China as a missionary, and assisted in feminist-oriented reforms within the China missionary movement. Her religiosity inspired her to help establish McTyeire School. Her acceptance of the maxim concerning the importance of women in Chinese society underlay her activities on behalf of McTyeire, and may have led the WMS to believe, by the time of Haygood's death in Shanghai in 1900, that its proselytization work in China was successful and growing. The conversion of most Chinese, however, remained altogether beyond WMS's grasp. Because Haygood came to China during the initial, formative years of the Society's missionary work, she exerted an influence on the Society's policies and effort to Christianize China.

NOTES

[1]Rita Gross, "Methodological Remarks on the Study of Women in Religion: Review, Criticism and Redefinition," in *Women And Religion*, ed. by Judity Plaskow and Joan Arnold Romero (rev. ed.; American Academy of Religion and The Scholar's Press, 1974), pp. 157, 159-61.

[2]The great majority of works about women's missionary activity were written by women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and were primarily biographical in nature. While some are of historical value, especially those containing personal letters, most of these works suffer from a lack of objectivity. Their primary purpose was to eulogize the departed missionary and to inspire other women either to become missionaries or to donate to the missionary endeavor. Exceptions to this overall pattern in literature on women's missionary activity include: Irwin T. Hyatt, Jr., *Our Ordered Lives Confess: Three Nineteenth-Century American Missionaries in East Shantung* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976), Part Two, "Charlotte Diggs Moon," pp. 65-138; and R. Pierce Beaver, *All Loves Excelling* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1968). Kenneth Scott Latourette's, *A History of Christian Missions in China* (Taipei: Ch'eng-Wen Publishing Company, 1966), is mainly a survey, but a good starting point for general information. See also, as an exceptional account of women's missionary activity: Frederick B. Hoyt," 'When a Field was Found too Difficult for a Man, a Woman should be Sent': Adele M. Fielde in Asia, 1865-1890," *The Historian* 44 (May 1982), pp. 314-334.

[3]Francis A. Butler, *History of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, M.E. Church, South* (Nashville: Publishing House of the M.E. Church, South, 1912, c1904), pp. 11-12

[4]*Fourteenth Annual Report of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, M.E. Church, South*, 1892 (Nashville: Southern Methodist Publishing House, 1892), pp. 19-20. Hereafter cited as *Annual Report*, with the specific year.

[5]*Annual Report*, 1884, pp. 6-7.

[6]*Annual Report*, 1884.

[7]*Annual Report*, 1884.

[8]Letter, Laura A. Haygood to Mollie Stevens, Shanghai, December 10, 1890; Letter, Haygood to Miss Rutherford, Shanghai, December 19, 1890, in *Life And Letters of Laura Askew Haygood*, O.E. Brown and A.M. Brown, eds. (Nashville: Publishing House of the M.E. Church, South, 1904), pp. 254, 256-58 (hereafter referred to as *Life*); *Annual Report*, 1892, p. 11.

[9]I.J. John, Mrs., compiler, *Missionary Cameos* (rev. ed.; Nashville: Publishing House of the M.E. Church, South, 1897, 1906), p. 27.

[10]Letter, Haygood to Young Allen, Shanghai, June 7, 1893, Young J. Allen Manuscripts, Emory University Special Collections, pp. 8-9 (hereafter cited as: Allen Papers). Emphasis is Haygood's.

[11]Haygood, Relation of Female Education to Home Mission Work," August, 1884, *Life*, pp. 89-95. The discrepancy in the year composed, 1884/1894? does not alter the essay's meaning.

[12]*Life*, p. 93.

[13]*LIfe*, pp. 93-94. Emphasis is Haygood's.

[14]Letter, Haygood to D.H. McGavcock, Atlanta, February 12, 1883, in *Life*, pp. 99-100; Letter, Haygood to Young Allen, Atlanta, February 21, 1884, Allen Papers.

[15]Letter, Laura A. Haygood to Dr. Allen, *ibid.*

[16]*Life*, p. 100.

[17]Letter. Haygood to Dr. Potter, Atlanta, February n.d.; in 1884, in *Life*, p. 100.

[18]John, *Cameos*, p. 27.

[19]*Annual Report*, 1879, pp. 50-51; *Cameos*, p. 27.

[20]See "Treasurer's Report" included in each *Annual Report*.

[21]*Annual Report*, 1894, pp. 89-90.

[22]Letter, Haygood to Mattie Nunally, Shanghai, May 23, 1893, in *Life*, pp. 310-311.

[23]*Annual Report*, 1894, pp. 89-90.

[24]*Annual Report*, 1891, p. 100.

[25]*Annual Report*, 1892, p. 100.

[26]*Annual Report*, 1879, pp. 50-51.

[27]*Annual Report*, p. 281.

[28]*Annual Report*, pp. 103-104.

[29]*Annual Report*, 1889, p. 80.

[30]For a consideration of this issue see Irwin T. Hyatt, Jr., "Protestant Missions in China, 1877-1890: The Institutionalization of Good Works," in *American Missionaries in China*, ed. by Kwang-ching Liu (Cambridge, Mass.: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, 1970), pp. 93-126; and *The Missionary Controversy: Discussion, Evidence and Report* (London: Wesleyan Methodist Book Room, 1890), pp. 1-4. Some English Wesleyan Methodists argued that Alexander Duff's policy of giving the Brahmins, the Indian leadership class, a Christian education, had failed to convert them. "Instead of an explosion within the citadel of Brahmanism, as the result of missionary work, we witness the wall of the citadel crumbling beneath the influence of the 'Zeitgeist,' built up again in a new form and with a new strength by the young Brahmins educated in our missionary colleges." *Missionary Controversy*, p. 1.

[31]*Annual Report*, 1886, pp. 7-9, 17, 61; 1887, pp. 19-20; 1888, p. 9.

[32]*Annual Report*, 1891, p. 17.

[33]Letters, Haygood to Truehart, *passim*, in *Life*, pp. 438-46.

[34]*Life*, pp. 69-84; Letter, Haygood to Young Allen, February 21, 1884, Allen Papers, pp. 8-9.

[35]*Annual Report*, 1885, p. 59.

[36]*Annual Report*, p. 58.

[37]Hyatt, *Confess*, pp. 90-92, concluded regarding "woman's work" in East Shandong that "female conversion was meaningless (except in 'worth of one soul' terms) without male family backing from the first.", p. 90.

The Contemporary Experience and the Future

Atlanta dogwood blossom

Georgia, Atlanta, and East Asian World: An Economist's Overview of Interactions Since World War II

ERNEST W. OGRAM, JR.*

Since World War II, East Asian trade has become increasingly important to the United States in terms of the total value of all U.S. international trade. By 1982, according to *Discovery* magazine, the United States depended economically "more on East Asia than on Western Europe. Since 1975 transpacific trade has exceeded the total of all transatlantic trade by value."[1] One notable component of transpacific trade is the commerce between the United States and Japan, which by itself in 1982 exceeded the combined dollar value of trade between the United States and the United Kingdom, West Germany and France by some two billion dollars.

The relatively recent phenomenon of foreigners' direct investment in the United States tells a story similar to that of trade. This article will first take a brief look at the changing patterns of foreign investment in the United States with particular emphasis on the Southeast. We will then focus on Georgia, and specifically Atlanta, as distinct participants in trade with East Asian countries.

Attraction of the Southeast

Data collected by the Conference Board indicates that in recent years, German, British and Japanese firms have increased their share of total foreign investment in the United States.[2] Moreover, the Conference Board survey pointed up a shifting of foreign investment in the United States toward the Sunbelt, and particularly to the Southeast.[3] In 1977 Texas, North Carolina and Georgia were not even listed among the top five states for foreign investment in the United States. In 1979 the top five states were California, New York, Texas, North Carolina and Georgia.

---

*Dr. Ogram has been Professor of Economics at Georgia State University since 1963, and was Director of its Institute of International Business from 1964 to 1976. He received his Ph.D. in economics from University of Illinois in 1957. Professor Ogram teaches international economics, marketing, finance, and comparative business systems, and has published extensively in these fields.

A recent survey of French direct investment in the Southeast mentioned a number of general considerations important for foreigners contemplating investing in the United States. These factors included a strong desire to diversify into other countries to spread the financial risk, availability of raw materials, relative costs of production including labor and energy, and existing and possibly future regulations by the United States government that would discourage trade in certain product categories.[4] The attractions of the Southeast for French investment, according to the survey, included ease of exporting and importing through the region's seaports and airports, the strong economic growth that the region is experiencing, a favorable attitude in general toward business development, and the high quality of life in that area.[5]

Because of world-wide recession, foreign trade in the Southeast declined in 1982. Foreign direct investment continued to expand, however, as it has for the last nine years. For the past several years, the Southeast has led all other regions of the country in its share of foreign direct investment in terms of employment, value added, plant and equipment.

If total United States employment in manufacturing is considered by state for the period 1969-80, the Southeast plus two states in the Southwest, California and Texas, experienced significant gains while the states of the Northeast and the Midwest suffered substantial declines during the same period.[6]

If one compares the number of corporate headquarters of *Fortune's* top 500 firms that have moved to the Southeast from 1971 through 1981, the increase has been just under 100%.[7] The states of the Northeast, Midwest and California still dominate headquarters locations for the nation's top industrial firms. Southeastern growth, however, is significant because corporate headquarters tend to attract other firms that provide support services for research and development, corporate planning, and finance. A similar pattern of expansion on corporate headquarters has also occurred in *Fortune's* second 500 industrial firms as well as in the service areas of trade, finance and insurance plus utilities.

The Southeast with its vast timber resources and favorable geographical climate, has especially become a focal point for the lumber, pulp, and paper industries. This, to a significant extent, explained why Georgia Pacific Corporation moved its headquarters from Portland, Oregon to Atlanta, Georgia early in 1982.

International Activity of Southeastern Banks

The growth of trade and foreign direct investment in the Southeast has led to a dramatic increase in the region's banking activities. International trade through the ports of the Southeast in the 1970s grew at a faster rate than that of the rest of the nation. Prior to World War II banks in New Orleans and Mobile were paramount in financing international trade through their respective ports because of the historic role of these ports in dominating the international trade of the Southeast. In the post-World War II period, banks in Miami and Atlanta have come to the forefront as the fastest growing centers for international banking activities in the Southeast. The explosive jump in international banking activity, especially in Miami, is explained by the sustained growth in Miami's trading and investment relationships with Central American, South American, and Caribbean countries. Furthermore, Miami banks, because of their aggressive marketing practices, have become magnets for individual and corporate deposits from this same area. In addition, many United States multinational firms with investment interests in Central and South America have found it practical to locate their Latin America headquarters in Miami.[8]

Atlanta banks, on the other hand, have been adding to their international deposit base because the city has come to serve as an international center for transportation, finance and related services for the Southeast, a matter to be addressed in more detail later in this paper.

The dynamic growth of the Southeast region, the favorable investment and geographical climate, and the fact that the support infrastructure has been in place explain not only the rise in domestic corporate activity in the Southeast. These factors also account for the sustained increase in foreign investment activity in the region.

Initial Japanese, Korean and Taiwanese Investments in the Southeast

Although corporations from the Netherlands, United Kingdom, West Germany and Canada are the largest investors by value in the Southeast, Japanese, Korean and Taiwanese companies have become increasingly involved since approximately 1976.

In June 1983 the first truck made its way along the assembly line at Nissan Corporation's Smyrna, Tennessee, plant, which features industrial robots and other state-of-the-art technology. The plant, which will employ 2,650 by the middle of 1984, involves a Japanese investment of $500 million. The Smyrna plant represents the largest single investment by any foreign company in the United States and the largest investment by Nissan outside Japan. Lancaster's and Waldner's articles in this journal cite particulars of ongoing Japanese investment in Georgia.

Korean and Taiwanese firms are also investing in the Southeast. In Alabama, a Korean company recently announced that it will manufacture microwave ovens and television sets. Sampo Corporation, a Taiwanese television set manufacturer, has recently established a factory and regional sales office in Norcross, Georgia.

Few other public concerns in recent years have generated as much apprehension and emotion in the United States as foreign investment in agricultural land. As a result of this intense concern, in February 1980, the U.S. Department of Agriculture released the results of a study of the ownership pattern.[9] One of the findings of this study was that most foreign holdings are concentrated in the Southeast and in particular in Tennessee, Georgia, and South Carolina. Certainly part of the explanation for this is the fact that southeastern states in general are more liberal in their attitude toward foreign ownership in agricultural land. East Asians count among other foreign buyers of Georgia pulpwood land.

Ongoing International Trade and Foreign Investment in Georgia

The view from the balcony of Atlanta's new World Trade Club provides an impressive indication of the impact of foreign investment on Atlanta. Within a few blocks one can see the National Bank of Georgia, owned by a Saudi financier; the Atlanta Hilton Hotel, partly owned by the Kuwaiti Development Corporation; the Dutch-owned Life Insurance Company of Georgia; the Atlantic Steel Company and Cable Atlanta, owned by a Canadian firm; and the Equitable Building, partially owned by Japan's Asahi Life Insurance Company. These structures demonstrate Georgia's success in attracting foreign investment. According to ex-Georgia Governor George Busbee, who solicited much of this commerce. international trade and foreign investment in Georgia in 1981 immeasurably enhanced the State's prosperity. "Manufacturing investments alone are in excess of $1.6 billion, with foreign firms providing more than 30,000 jobs in our state," Busbee asserted. "In addition, recent estimates indicate that Georgia is exporting in excess of $3 billion worth of manufactured and agricultural products annually. That figure, according to the U.S. Department of Commerce, creates 120,000 jobs within the state."[10] Exports and foreign investment within Georgia created jobs, which in turn expanded the State's income base, and provided successive respending and consumption within the state.

Atlanta: An International City

Since before the American Civil War, Atlanta has been the commercial hub of the Southeast. This happened because of Atlanta's geographical location, its climate, its banking and insurance services, and its pivotal transportation system.

One of the most exciting aspects of Atlanta's growth in recent years has been its emergence as an international city. A number of criteria for an international city have come to apply to Atlanta since 1973.

First, there is the matter of overseas flights from the city's new airport. Hartsfield International, the second busiest airport in the United States, serves as the gateway for direct overseas flight to numerous European and Latin American destinations. Pan American World Airways and Northwest Orient Airlines, the two U.S.-flag passenger carriers servicing East Asia, have district sales offices in Atlanta and connecting flight out of

Atlanta's airport to East Asia. Japan Air Lines, Singapore Air Lines, and Korean Air Lines have also established district sales offices in Atlanta to service Asia-bound passengers and cargo originating at Hartsfield and elsewhere in the Southeast.

Second, a recent state law liberalizing foreign banking activity has resulted in eighteen foreign banks establishing offices in Atlanta. Three of these foreign banks are East Asian: the Bank of Tokyo, Fuji Bank, and the Industrial Bank of Japan.

Third, one of Georgia's newest incentives to help promote international trade is the state's first foreign trade zone, a duty free zone in Shenandoah, near Hartsfield International Airport. The function of a foreign trade zone is to permit entry of foreign goods into the zone without payment of customs duties. Duties are paid only if the goods are subsequently sold in the domestic market. Should the goods previously imported be re-exported, no customs duties are paid. These and other incentives have attracted over four hundred foreign firms to establish facilities in Georgia since 1975. Among these are seven East Asian foreign trading companies with offices in or near Atlanta: Tatung Company, from Taiwan; and C. Itoh, Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Nissho-Iwai, Nissei Sangyo, and Toyo Menka Kaisha, all from Japan.

Fourth, the opening in 1976 of the Georgia World Congress Center in Atlanta, which hosts increasing numbers of international meetings and trade shows, provides an example of the state government's growing assistance to international intercourse.

Fifth, part of any city's degree of internationalization involves the number of foreign governments that feel obliged, because of trade and investment considerations, to establish some type of formal diplomatic representation within the city. In 1975 Atlanta had seven consulates staffed by career diplomats and twenty-one honorary consulates or trade offices in the city. Eight years later, the number of career consulates had jumped to thirteen and the countries with trade offices or honorary consulates stood at twenty-seven. The government of the Philippines opened a trade office in Atlanta early in 1983. The expansion of consulates and trade offices in Atlanta came about in part to service the increasing number of foreign companies having trade and investment relationships within the Southeast.

Sixth, a significant indicator in determining the degree of internationalization for any city is how many foreign nationals live there and in what activities they participate.

The number of foreign nationals living in a city may be considered a function of those that come when a foreign firm sets up a manufacturing or other facility or who come on their own volition searching for jobs or perhaps for an opportunity to start their own businesses. Growing numbers of foreign nationals from East Asia have come to Atlanta in recent years, especially from Taiwan, Korea, Japan, and China.

Taiwan's Presence in Atlanta

Professor George Wang, formerly of National Taiwan University, recently arrived in Atlanta and asserted that business opportunities in Atlanta are very attractive to many Taiwanese. According to Professor Wang, Atlanta's principal attractions are a growing business community and the "courtesy and friendly relations that Atlantans have with all peoples."[11] Professor Wang estimated that Atlanta now has about 4,000 Chinese residents, many of whom originate from Taiwan, as well as from Hong Kong, Indochina, mainland China, and elsewhere.[12]

The government on Taiwan opened an Atlanta consulate, its first in the Southeast, in June 1973. In 1979 the United States broke diplomatic relations with the government on Taiwan and formally recognized China. Since 1979 a private organization, the Coordination Council for North American Affairs, has represented the interests of the government of Taiwan in Atlanta. See Krebs' article, in this journal, on the intricacies of Sino-American relations. Lin Tsun-hsien, Director of the Coordination Council's Atlanta office in 1983, explained that his government felt that locating a representative office in Atlanta was logical because Atlanta not only was the commercial and cultural center for the Southeast, but also the center for international air cargo for the region. The director further stated his government's procurement mission has purchased significant amounts of Georgia peanuts and tobacco in recent years. He also expected that his government would send a

commerical attaché to his office in 1983 because of the Taiwan's increased trade and in the Atlanta area.

Andrew Li, the Council's secretary, commented as did Professor Wang that the reason why increasing numbers of Taiwanese have immigrated to Atlanta recently is because of the business opportunities here, plus the favorable geographical climate. He remarked that Atlanta now has 170 Chinese restaurants, a ten-fold increase in the last ten years. Many of Atlanta's restauranteurs are Taiwanese.

Republic of Korea's Presence in Atlanta

In June 1976 a Consulate General of the Republic of Korea was established in Atlanta. The consul general in 1983, Hak Won Song, stated that his government felt that Atlanta was becoming the center for trade and investment activity in the Southeast for his country. Because of this fact his government at the same time determined it should also establish a regional office of the Korea Trade Promotion Corporation (KTPC). The KPTC is involved in trade and investment promotion in both directions. Mr. Song said that KTPC was interested in promoting joint ventures between Korean and American firms that would result in increased exports from the United States to Korea.

Mr. Song estimated that 7,000 Korean nationals live in the Atlanta metropolitan area, and that the reason for most of them coming here was to start their own businesses.

Japan's Presence in Atlanta

Yoshinori Tsujimoto, acting Japanese consul general in Atlanta in 1983, indicated that the concensus within his government back in 1974 was that Atlanta was the hub of transportation, banking and insurance services within the southeastern United States. Mr. Tsujimoto also remarked that "the enthusiastic reception given to the Japanese business community from former Governor Busbee and other state officials has been a positive force in helping Japanese firms decide on a Georgia location for manufacturing plants and other facilities."

Nippan-Daido, the Japanese supermarket chain, may be the most recent Japanese firm to establish itself in Atlanta. The increased number of companies from East Asian countries that have located in Atlanta over the last several years, and the increasing numbers of nationals from these countries who have moved to Atlanta for other reasons, prompted Nippan Daido in 1981 to consider opening an Atlanta supermarket. In October 1982, opening day customers at Nippan Daido's Atlanta market found the store's shelves filled with all kinds of Asian delicacies. The Nippan Daido store offers a full line of groceries including specialty seafood as well as Asian books and magazines for Georgia's expanding Asian population.

The new facility was Nippan Daido's fourth to be established in the United States and its first in the Southeast. It was not by any means the first East Asian grocery to be established in the Atlanta area. Koreans, for example, operate a spacious "Asian Super Market" in Atlanta's Broadview Shopping Plaza

The fact that close to 20 percent of the 500 foreign companies that have located in Georgia are Japanese testifies to the state's successful effort in attracting both small and large Japanese firms to locate here. Lancaster's and Waldner's article give further specifics on this recent growth

China's Presence in Atlanta

The extent of recent contact between China and Georgia, including Georgians who have been to China and Chinese scholars who have come to Georgia, is covered in Krebs' article. Georgia's trade with China does not nearly equal its trade with Taiwan despite visits to China by ex-Governor Busbee, Trader Commissioner Milton Folds, and International Trade Director John Welsh to stimulate commerce. The Shanghai exhibit at the July 1982 Asian Gift Show in Atlanta marked the first sales effort if its kind by a People's Republic of China firm in Georgia. Coca-Cola, as Krebs mentions, has made a pioneering commitment to the China market, as it did some years ago in Japan. In the view of former Undersecretary of

State George Ball, "the question no one can answer today is whether we are witnessing merely a Chinese version of Lenin's NEP (National Economic Plan) - that brief season of free enterprise which the Soviets permitted in 1921 - or whether Peking is definitely moving with traditional pragmatism toward some kind of indigenous compromise between Marx and Adam Smith."[13] To the extent that Georgia, Atlanta and the Southeast have a role to play in future trade and investment with the PRC is a function of the decisions that must be made in Beijing (Peking).

Conclusions

As an economist, I feel confident in asserting that Atlanta and Georgia are well on their way to prominence in the Southeast relative to trade and investment with Asian countries. The state's economy increasingly feels the impact of the East Asian world in terms of exports, imports, diplomatic representation, foreign investment, cultural ties, and the ever-increasing number of nationals from East Asian countries living and working in Georgia.

NOTES

[1]*Discovery*, (May-June, 1982), p. 64A

[2]*Announcements of Foreign Investments in U.S. Manufacturing Industries.* The Conference Board, Investment Data Department, Fourth Quarter, 1980.

[3]The term "Sunbelt" generally applies to the southern tier of states from the east to the west coast. Within the Sunbelt states there are two sub-areas, the Southeast and the Southwest. The Southwest is generally considered to begin with Texas and extends west through the southern half of California. The Southeast extends east from Texas to the Atlantic Ocean.

[4]*French Investment in the Southeast*, Bernard Imbert, Georgia World Congress Institute and Crédit Lyonnais, March 1980.

[5]*Ibid*, p. 48.

[6]*Economic Review*, Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, December 1982, p. 56. "Southeastern Employment after the Recession."

[7]*Ibid*, p. 62. The number increased from 10 to 19.

[8]*Economic Review*, Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, October, 1982, p. 15. "International Banking Activity in the Southeast: Rapid Growth and Change."

[9]*Agricultural Economic Report No. 447*, February, 1980, p. iii. "Foreign Ownership of U.S. Agricultural Land." Natural Resource Economics, Division of Economics, Statistics and Cooperative Services, U.S. Department of Agriculture.

[10]Statement by Governor George Busbee in the introduction to *Georgia Directory of International Services* (Atlanta, 1982), no page number.

[11]Ann Valdes, "International City — It's Becoming a Reality," *Atlanta Journal/Atlanta Constitution*, May 13, 1979, p. 1E.

[12]Ibid.

[13]George Ball, "America and Asia in the 1980's: Prospects and Hazards," an unpublished address to the Asia Society, New York, May 13, 1980.

Japanese chrysanthemum. The national emblem of Japan and traditiona
symbol for long life and happiness.

Prospects for Japan-Georgia Trade: The Viewpoint of a Trade Official

DAY LANCASTER*

For Americans, Japan may be a jumble of contradictory images. Japanese quality automobiles, electronic products and cameras mingle with pictures of paper houses, rickshaws and cheap toys of forty years ago. And to confuse matters further, there is often no clear differentiation between Japan and China. No wonder so many Americans have such a hard time comprehending the "inscrutable" Japanese.

In Georgia, however, there is a growing awareness and understanding of Japan and the Japanese that increasing interaction with that country has brought on. The origins of this growing involvement, and some of the consequences, merit our attention.

The Japanese commonly identify Georgia with *Gone With the Wind*, Jimmy Carter, and peanuts, in that order. Unfortunately, none of them are contributing very much to Georgia's trade balance with Japan, but at least the state does have a positive image as a result. At present, peanuts comprise a portion of Georgia's exports to Japan, but it is not large, due to tough competition from China. Perhaps with a better marketing strategy that highlights their origin, Georgia peanuts would do better in the Japanese market.

The largest quantifiable export product is kaolin. Approximately 400,000 tons of Georgia kaolin are shipped to Japan every year to be used primarily in the paper industry. The paper industry also accounts for the other major Georgia exports — wood and paper pulp. Other products include soybeans, wheat, and poultry products.

In terms of agricultural exports, Georgia is at a disadvantage to those states in the Midwest and West that are geographically closer to Japan. Georgia's agricultural products must be considerably better in quality and price in order to offset greater transportation costs.

*Mr. Lancaster has been Managing Director of the Tokyo office of the State of Georgia Department of Industry and Trade since January 1982. He was born in Kobe, Japan, in 1954, to missionary parents, and received a B.A. in Japanese studies from Earlham College in 1976. He has worked as a Japanese-English interpreter for Matsushita Electronics Corporation [Panasonic], and has also been employed by Topri, Inc., a Japanese manufacturing company in Peachtree City, Georgia.

Poultry products and wood and paper pulp have that advantage.

Unfortunately, exports of manufactured goods to Japan lag far behind those of other states. Georgia traditionally has not had the large industrial base that could support a strong export drive. Increasingly, however, more and more Georgia businessmen are stepping up their search for new markets, and though efforts are still in an embryonic stage, the next five to ten years should see a growing number of Georgia companies looking to the Japanese market place.

One example of this trend is the Carpet and Rug Institute, a national organization headquartered in Dalton, Georgia. The Institute, in conjunction with the U.S. Department of Commerce, sponsored a trade mission to Tokyo and Osaka in March 1983. Of the sixteen participating companies, ten were from Georgia. The carpet and rug industry in Japan is still not as technologically advanced as it is in the United States. Therefore, marketing opportunities for Georgia carpet makers should be better than for other types of U.S. manufacturers whose expertise is superseded by that of the Japanese.

Another example of growing interest in Japan was the visit to Japan in May 1982 by members of Georgia Institute of Technology's Advanced Technology Development Center. The purpose of the trip was to pursue opportunities for Georgia's high technology companies to do business with Japanese firms, as well as to promote Georgia as an investment location for Japanese capital.

These are some recent examples of trade activity between Georgia and Japan. Several companies have been doing business in Japan for many years. By far the earliest Georgia company to establish operations in Japan was Coca-Cola, which began selling its soft drinks back in the early 1900s. It took until 1957 to form Coca-Cola/Japan. Even then, growth was limited because the Japanese government, for reasons still unclear, imposed restrictions on the ingredients needed to make Coke. In 1961 those restrictions were lifted and the company began to expand. Within two years three Coca-Cola bottling companies had been founded. And since that time fifteen more have been formed. Now there is virtually nowhere in Japan where one cannot purchase a bottle or can of Coke or of "Georgia," a coffee drink Coca-Cola/Japan began marketing several years ago exclusively for the Japanese market. In fact, over half of Coca-Cola/Japan's product line was developed for Japanese tastes and is not marketed elsewhere. That certainly reflects the commitment that has made Japan Coca-Cola's third largest market outside the United States.

Kleentex, a manufacturer of doormats headquartered in LaGrange, also has a solid foothold in Japan. The company opened a sales office in Tokyo in in 1977. Soon after, Kleentex incorporated in Japan and began production in the city of Akashi three and a half years later. Business is apparently increasing steadily.

Another pioneer in the Japanese market was American Family Life Assurance, based in Columbus. Starting with a representative sales office in Tokyo in 1974, American Family was the first company to offer cancer insurance in Japan. Since that time the company has expanded rapidly to include twelve sub-branch sales offices with over 1500 agencies handling their insurance. Today, the Japanese market accounts for fifty percent of American Family's total revenues.

American companies in general have been quite successful in exporting the fast food franchise business to Japan. McDonald's, Kentucky Fried Chicken and Dunkin Donuts were among the first, and now Denny's, Wendy's, Mister Donut, Seven-Eleven, and Hardee's, to name a few, have joined the ranks. The latest to take advantage of this still-expanding market in Japan is Arby's of Atlanta. They opened their first restaurant in May of 1982 and now have six stores throughout Japan.

Besides these examples of Georgia companies that have actually established subsidiaries or branch offices in Japan and are now successfully conducting business, there are a number of firms that are involved with Japanese business, but in a less visible fashion. Major Atlanta banks have extensive correspondent relationships with many of the large Japanese banks.

And several Georgia companies have supplier or customer relationships with Japanese manufacturers.

In terms of the number of companies, the involvement of Georgia business in Japan is small, but quite diversified. In terms of revenue, however, Japan represents a substantial market for those firms mentioned above. A large potential still remains for Georgia companies that are willing to invest the time and money to research the Japanese market and provide a service or product that either fills a need or competes effectively with what is already available.

The key words here are time and money. Very few foreign companies now doing business in Japan were instant successes. Considerable amounts of hard work, and a patient and committed home office, are prerequisites for creating a successful operation in Japan. In the opinion of this trade official, it seems that too often American companies have dropped out before really getting started, due to lack of commitment on the part of top managment. Some U.S. companies have passed over a very lucrative market.

On the other side of the business relationship is the Japanese presence in Georgia. With the dramatic expansion of Atlanta as a regional center in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Japanese firms began locating sales in the city. (See Professor Ogram's article in this journal on Atlanta's expansion as an international city.) A district sales office of Japan Air Lines was among the first Japanese companies to arrive, along with general trading firms that needed a regional presence in order to expand their export and import business in the United States. Representative of this group were Mitsubishi Corporation and Mitsui and Co., two of the largest trading firms in Japan, which opened in Atlanta offices in approximately 1970. By 1983 three of the top seven Japanese trading companies had opened Atlanta offices to service the Southeast.

Following along the same lines, the United States subsidiary sales companies of Japanese manufacturers also began putting offices and warehouses in the Atlanta area. Panasonic, the sales arm of Matsushita Electronics Corporation of America, opened a southeastern regional sales warehouse and distribution center in Norcross, Georgia, approximately the same time the trading companies were moving in. Soon, other Japanese subsidiary sales companies, recognizing the advantages of an Atlanta location for coverage of the Southeast, began locating sales centers in and around the city. In 1983 there were fifty-six United States subsidiary sales companies of Japanese manufacturers located in Georgia, primarily in the Atlanta area.

While Atlanta gained recognition as a prime spot to expand American markets, Georgia also gained increasing attention as an ideal location for manufacturing operations. The first Japanese company to utilize these advantages by establishing a factory in the state was Yoshida Kogyo (YKK), the world's largest producer of zippers and fasteners. After studying numerous possible locations in United States, YKK decided that Macon, Georgia's favorable labor climate, low land cost, geographical location and excellent transportation system, among other factors, justified putting their plant there.

Initially starting out with final assembly of zippers, the production process at the YKK Macon plant now encompasses everything from the spinning of yarn to stamping zipper sliders. What began as a 250,000 square foot facility employing 120 workers is now a sprawling 700,000 square feet with 600 employees on the payroll. Two years ago YKK purchased a nearby 250 acre tract of land on which to build a major industrial/residential complex that is designed to fill the working and living needs of YKK employees. When fully completed, it will include several major manufacturing facilities as well as single and multi-family housing with adjoining recreational facilities. Already, a 50,000 square foot monofilament plant has been completed and another 250,000 square foot facility is currently under construction.

In 1973, when YKK made their move to Macon, Sony was the only other Japanese company with a manufacturing base in the United States. Consequently, YKK's decision received major attention in Japan. This, coupled with the nearly simultaneous establishment of the State of Georgia Department of Industry and Trade's Tokyo office, served to highlight Georgia as a potential site for other Japanese manufacturers looking to start making products in America.

Whether influenced by YKK's move or not, three Japanese textile-related companies established their first United States factories in Georgia shortly after YKK. Locating in Augusta, Columbus, and Macon, these companies have begun fabric printing operations. Partially spurred on by U.S. government pressure to compete on equal terms with U.S. textile manufacturers, these companies perceived Georgia's experienced textile work force as a particular plus in their decisions to locate in the Peach State.

Subsequent manufacturing investment in Georgia has not followed any particular pattern. Makers of products ranging from ceramic capacitors to high voltage circuit breakers to automobile oil seals have come from Japan to set up shop in Georgia. The approximately twenty manufacturers that have invested in the state thus far represent a truly diversified product range. This illustrates the compatibility of Georgia as a location for numerous types of industry. Currently Georgia ranks third in the nation for the number of Japanese factories in operation in one state.

Despite growing competition from other states in attracting Japanese industry, Georgia remains in good position to maintain its lead as a desirable location for Japanese investments. The momentum generated by the nearly one hundred Japanese companies which have come to the state has served to create an infrastructure unparalleled outside the major metropolitan centers of Los Angeles, New York and Chicago. This will continue to draw Japanese businesses to Georgia in the future and further develop what is already considerable activity.

An early manifestation of the large Japanese presence in the state was the formation of the Georgia *konwakai* (discussion group), an organization made up of native Japanese company managers residing in Georgia. The *konwakai* provided an opportunity for Japanese businessmen to get together to discuss common problems and develop community projects, as well as socialize on an informal recreational basis. As membership increased the group decided several years ago to change their name to the Georgia *shokokai* (Japanese Chamber of Commerce) to reflect more accurately their expanded function in the community.

The most notable accomplishment of the *shokokai* so far has been the creation of a supplementary Saturday school for Japanese children in the Atlanta area. For grades one through nine, Japanese housewives with teaching experience hold classes in Japanese language, science and mathematics. Originally the school used classrooms at Oglethorpe University, but as enrollment grew, the *shokokai* decided to relocate the school to more appropriate surroundings three years ago. With the assistance of Atlanta's Japanese Consulate, the Georgia Department of Industry and Trade and the Gwinnett County Chamber of Commerce, the school moved to the Beaver Ridge Elementary School in Norcross.

In approximately 1980, since enrollment had reached one hundred pupils, the Japanese government, through its Atlanta Consulate, dispatched a full-time principal from Japan to supervise the school. Today, over 160 Japanese children attend the school every weekend. As this is the only school of its kind in the Southeast, it is a major incentive for Japanese companies trying to decide where to put their U.S. facilities.

Another result of the concentration of Japanese businesses in the Atlanta area is the proliferation of Japanese food stores and restaurants. Ten years ago there was only one authentic Japanese restaurant in the entire state. Now there are six that serve traditional Japanese cuisine, with another four specializing in steak dishes. There are also at least ten Japanese and Asian food stores in Atlanta that provide a full complement of cooking ingredients.

An interesting example of how a Japanese company directly influenced the location of a Japanese restaurant in Atlanta is the case of Hitachi, Ltd.'s telecommunications division and Gojinka Restaurant. Hitachi's telecommunications headquarters factory is located outside of Yokohama, where most of the managers staffing Hitachi's Doraville, Georgia, facility are from. Many of the managers had frequented a Yokohama restaurant called Gojinka before being assigned to the Atlanta post. Often when back at headquarters on business, these

managers would go to Gojinka after work and relate their experiences of life in Atlanta. Apparently the suggestion was made that Gojinka's owner should also move to Atlanta and set up shop there. After repeated urgings, the owner began to take the idea seriously. When he learned that an existing Japanese restaurant in Atlanta was looking for a chef, he applied for the job and was hired.

Selling his restaurant in Yokohama, the chef and his wife moved to Atlanta and spent their first several years in Georgia working for what was then called Ginza Benkay Restaurant (now Benihana). When Ginza Benkay closed down, the chef took his savings, invested in a location off of Buford Highway, and opened up a new Gojinka Restaurant. Needless to say, the Japanese employees of Hitachi's Doraville facility are now regular customers.

Georgia's growing relationship with Japan is also reflected in the development of a number of organizations and programs devoted to increasing the opportunities for exchange on business, cultural and educational levels. In the Spring of 1975, a group of about ten senior executives of large Japanese corporations visited Atlanta, and in conversation with then-Governor George Busbee and various businessmen, became convinced of the growing potential for business exchange between Japan and Southeast. The outgrowth of these conversations was the establishment in December 1975 of the Japan/U.S. Southeast Association, comprised of seven member states (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia) and Japanese firms doing business in the Southeast. The State of Georgia hosted the first meeting in Atlanta in 1976. Subsequent annual meetings have rotated among the seven member states during the even years, while the Japanese side hosts the odd numbered year. There are other organizations of this kind in the United States, but the Japan/U.S. Southeast Association is by far the most active.

On a social and cultural level, the Japan-American Society of Georgia, established in 1980, has played an increasingly active part in promoting understanding of Japan in Georgia as well as providing a venue for Japanese living in Georgia to associate with Georgians interested in Japan. (See Professor Waldner's article on the history of the Japan-America Society in this journal.)

Besides these organizations, there are a number of civic and educational programs designed to foster exchange. Seventeen years ago the Prefecture of Kagoshima, located in the southern-most region of Japan, decided it wanted a sister state. After some study, prefectural officials decided that Georgia was a good match because of the shared traits of mild climate, a citizenry that believe in traditional hospitality, a distinct southern accent, and defeat in a civil war. Based on their recommendation, Katsushi Terazono, the Governor of Kagoshima, approached Georgia Governor Carl Sanders, who agreed that a sister state relationship would be mutually beneficial, and an agreement was signed by both governors in a ceremony at the Georgia State Capitol in 1966. "Kagoshima Corner" of Georgia's State Capital was devoted to exhibits from Kagoshima Prefecture.

Exchange of people between Kagoshima and Georgia since that time has been quite active, with a group of Kagoshima high school students visiting Athens every summer and an ongoing faculty exchange program between the University of Georgia and Kagoshima University. In 1981 a large group of Georgia government and business leaders, led by former Governors George Busbee and Sanders, visited Kagoshima to commemorate the fifteenth anniversary of the sister state relationship. And though not yet a regular program the University System of Georgia has sent a group of college students to Kagoshima for a summer of foreign study. In September 1982, outgoing Governor George Busbee and a small delegation paid a "farewell" visit to Kagoshima and other part of Japan important in Georgia's foreign trade. (See accompanying photo of Busbee's reception in Kagoshima.)

Georgia also has an active sister city program with Japan. Currently four relationships exist, and in each case a Japanese or American firm has played a vital role in forging the link: YKK linking Macon and Kurobe; American Family Life joining Columbus and Kiryu; Nippon Oil connecting LaGrange with Aso City; and TEC uniting Gainesville with Ohito City.

YKK initiated the first sister city relationship, between Macon, the site of its U.S. factory, and Kurobe, its headquarters on the coast of the Japan Sea. Groups of official and unofficial visitors have been visiting back and forth on a regular basis since the beginning of the

relationship and recently YKK announced plans to implement a scholarship program that would fully subsidize a year of study in a Japanese university for students in Macon-area colleges.

Farewell reception for outgoing Georgia Governor George Busbee, hosted by Kagoshima Prefecture, Japan, September 1982. Left to right: ex-Kagoshima Governor Katsushi Terazono, who established sister state relationship with Georgia in 1966; Busbee; and West Georgia College History Professor Jonathan Goldstein, who organized and led 1982 WGC Alumni Association tour to China and Japan. WGC Learning Resources Center.

Columbus is a sister city of Kiryu, a community north of Tokyo. This relationship was the result of Kiryu officials going to the major bank in the area to ask for suggestions on possible candidate cities in America. The bank, in turn, requested help from American Family Life, which was one of their clients, in recommending a place, and the result was the development of a sister city agreement with Columbus.

In the case of LaGrange and Aso City, which is located on the same island as Kagoshima Prefecture, the go-between was Nippon Oil Seal, Inc., which has factories in both cities. And the most recent sister city relationship, between Gainesville and Ohito City, was an outgrowth of discussions between Georgia state officials and TEC America, which has a large manufacturing plant in Ohito as well as a sales and service center in Georgia. This year the two cities will initiate a three-month homestay program for students.

Educational exchange programs are not just limited to those mentioned above. Georgia State University conducts a ten-week summer course entitled "Business and Society in America" for approximately twenty to thirty Japanese businessmen every year. And as of last year, G.S.U. began including a one-week study tour of Tokyo area businesses as part of its Executive MBA Program. Various types of exchange programs are now being considered by a number of organizations, so the chances for Georgians to learn more about Japan, and vice versa, will increase.

The relationship between Georgia and Japan is still young, and the future points towards

continued strong and positive growth. The danger exists, however, that the relationship will become too uneven. Right now some one hundred Japanese companies have operations in Georgia while only four Georgia companies are represented in Japan. Japan represents a substantial marketplace. Admittedly, the Japanes market is not an easy one to penetrate, but for those Georgia companies truly committed to maintaining a competitive edge in the world marketplace, selling in Japan is increasingly attractive.

The potential also exists for an imbalance to develop on a cultural and educational level. Though no accurate figures are available, a safe guess is there are more than one thousand Japanese students studying in Georgia schools and universities. And if study and tour groups are included, the flow of people from Japan to Georgia is considerable. By comparison, there are only a handful of Georgians studying in Japan. If this is to be corrected, more opportunities must be developed for Georgians to learn and travel to Japan.

Until these areas are addressed and properly remedied, the Georgia-Japan relationship remains in danger of being lopsided. Fortunately, the many examples of increased interest in Japan and the growing Japanese related activity in the state are positive signs that an appropriate equilibrium can and will be achieved.

Japan's national flower, the cherry blossom

Japan, Georgia, and the Japan-America Society of Georgia: The Viewpoint of Its Executive Director

GEORGE W. WALDNER*

Japan and Georgia

Emperor Jimmu, the founder of the Japanese nation, is said to have ascended the throne on February 11, 606 B.C. General James Edward Oglethorpe founded what is now the state of Georgia on February 12, 1733. Allowing for the fact that the international date line bisects the Pacific, it can be concluded that the establishment of Japan as a nation and the founding of Georgia are separated by two days and two thousand three hundred and thirty-nine years.

One need not, however, go back much more than a century to find the origins of diplomatic, cultural and commercial relations between Japan and the United States. A still shorter time frame is required to describe the beginnings of major and sustained contacts between Japan and Georgia.

At the nation to nation level, Commodore Matthew C. Perry initiated diplomatic contact with Japan in 1853 by demanding that the Japanese end their policy of isolation from the outside world. The size of Perry's fleet and the insistence of his demands persuaded the

---

*Professor Waldner is Executive Director of the Japan-America Society of Georgia, and has been a member of its Board of Directors since 1980. Dr. Waldner is Associate Professor of Political Studies and, since 1982, Dean of the Faculty at Oglethorpe University, Atlanta, Georgia. In 1975 he received his Ph.D. in politics from Princeton University, where his dissertation was on "Japanese Foreign Policy and Economic Growth: Ikeda Hayato's Approach to Trade Liberalization." The original version of this article was published in the *Japan-American Society of Georgia Yearbook & Directory 1982*, and is reprinted with the permission of the Japan-American Society of Georgia, Inc.

Japanese government that they had little alternative but to acquiesce, and so it was that Japan began its contacts with the United States and the rest of the world in the modern era.

Contact with the United States catalyzed Japan's start on a course of national development and economic growth that has continued and gathered speed ever since. In the modernization of their public and private institutions, the Japanese have on many occasions looked to the American experience as a guide for their own growth and transformation. Some of the forces unleashed by the rapid pace of change in Japanese society expressed themselves in a policy of conquest, which brought the United States and Japan into mortal combat and thus riveted the attention of millions of people in both societies on the other.

After World War II, American officials of the Allied Occupation set about the task of democratizing and otherwise reforming Japan's economy, politics, and education system, usually with the willing cooperation of their Japanese counterparts. In recent years, the two countries have been political and military allies in Asia. Increasingly, cultural influences have begun to flow in both directions. Many Americans are now interested in uniquely Japanese styles of the martial arts, tea ceremony, flower arranging and horticulture. People to people interactions have grown with improved air travel between Japan and America now accessible to millions. Most significantly, the commercial and financial relationships between the two countries have developed to the point at which Japan is now the largest overseas trading partner of the United States.

Trade between the two countries in 1981 reached $64 billion in value. The United States is the major foreign market for Japanese motor vehicles and electronic products, while Japan is America's best overseas customer. In 1981, the U.S. shipped nearly $22 billion worth of goods to Japan — an amount almost equal to combined American sales to the United Kingdom and West Germany.

The extent of United States-Japan trade has given rise to a steady stream of people and goods flowing between the two countries and has also generated some frictions, controversies, and problems of adjustment.

It was not until the 1960s and 1970s that Georgia began to develop as a major focal point of U.S.-Japan relations. Among a number of "first causes" for the budding of Japan-Georgia relations, the efforts of Governor Carl E. Sanders should be noted. Governor Sanders, along with Governor Katsushi Terazono of Kagoshima Prefecture, established a sister state relationship between Georgia and Kagoshima in 1966. Governor Sanders made an official visit to Japan in that year to inaugurate this new tie. The link to Kagoshima and the governor's visit focused attention in Japan on Georgia and also paved the way for regular visits of Georgia businessmen and academics to Japan and for delegations of Japanese to visit Georgia.

Another primary factor in the development of Japan-Georgia ties was the maturation of Japan as an advanced industrial state with a substantial export market in the United States to supply with products and to provide with after-purchase service and parts. As the transportation hub of the southeast, the Atlanta area became a key location for warehouse, distribution and sales offices for Japanese firms, just as it is for U.S. companies. As Japanese firms experienced growth in their U.S. markets and began to require U.S. manufacturing facilities, Georgia again became a leading location for investments. The factors which attracted Japanese manufacturing facilities — a skilled, highly motivated work force, access to transportation, availability of raw materials and energy, and low land costs — again were similar to the factors which have motivated U.S. firms to select Georgia as a site for new manufacturing investment.

Japanese firms, however did not focus on Georgia without a substantial nudge. That was provided during Governor Jimmy Carter's administration. As Mr. Lancaster has indicated in his article in this journal, Georgia opened a trade and investment development office in Tokyo in 1973 to publicize Georgia's advantages to potential investors. Governor Carter also succeeded in his effort to persuade the Japanese government to locate its new Consulate General of the U.S. Southeast in Atlanta. Consul General Kazuo Chiba arrived in

1974, establishing the consulate's offices in the Colony Square complex and his official residence on Blackland Road. Since 1974, nearly 100 Japanese firms have invested in Georgia. This more than any other factor has made Georgia an important and growing part of the U.S.-Japan relationship, rivaling California, Illinois, and the New York-New Jersey area in number of Japanese investments.

Governor George Busbee built upon and greatly extended the achievements of the Carter years. Most notably Governor Busbee took the lead along with Consul General Chiba in founding the U.S.Southeast/Japan Association in 1975. The Association brings top private and public sector leaders from seven southeastern states into contact with nationally prominent figures in Japanese business and industry for annual meetings. The meetings are held in Japan in odd numbered years and in alternate southeastern states in even numbered years. Governor Busbee led a one hundred member Georgia delegation to the Association's sixth annual meeting in Japan in 1981. It was the Governor's sixth offical visit to Japan during his tenure in office.

The middle to late 1970s was a time of transition and growth in the Georgia-Japan relationship. Consul General Chiba departed for another assignment in 1975, and Yoshifumi Ito became Japan's official representative from 1976 to 1978. In 1978 Ito was posted to Sao Paulo, Brazil, and Consul General Ryo Kawade arrived to take up his duties. Kawade served until 1983, when he was replaced by Kagechika Matano. During the Kawade consulship, the Japanese business community in Georgia underwent transition. The earliest organization of Japanese in the Atlanta area, the *konwakai* (discussion club), was transformed into the more formally organized *nihonjin shokokai* (Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry) in early 1980. This group's work is supplemented by the programming of the *hanamizukai* (Flower and Water Club - Women's Club). The *nihongo gakko* (Japanese Language School) was established so that Japanese children would not be too far behind in language skills when they would return to Japan for subsequent education. The school has been crucial in calming the fear of many Japanese parents that a three or four year assignment in the U.S. would cause their children to incur serious educational handicaps that would disadvantage them upon their return to Japan.

Transition and growth was also evident in the efforts of Georgians to develop the relationship. The Georgia Ports Authority established a representative office in Japan in 1976. As Mr. Lancaster has noted, a number of Georgia communities began or strengthened sister city linkages with communities in Japan. In the education area, student and faculty exchanges were inaugurated between Kagoshima University and the University of Georgia.

The Japan-America Society of Georgia, Inc.

At the end of the 1970s, there were approximately one thousand Japanese citizens residing in Georgia and some fifty-five Japanese firms located here. It was evident that the Japanese presence in Georgia had grown to a substantial size and that the 1980s and 1990s were likely to be decades of further growth. A study by the Japan Economic Research Center indicated that while Japanese investment in North America was $4.5 billion in 1975, it had grown to $8.5 billion by 1979 and will likely reach $155 billion by 1990. In a recent opinion survey, Japanese business leaders ranked the top ten locations for investment in the U.S. as follows: (1) California; (2) Texas; (3) Illinois; (4) Georgia; (5) Tennessee; (6) Arizona; (7) Indiana; (8) New Jersey; (9) Washington; (10) Michigan.[1] Georgia's experience in the 1970s and the preliminary evidence of future trends available in the late 1970s showed that the Japanese economic role and human presence in Georgia's future would be an important one.

In 1979 a group of Georgians from business and academia came together to form a planning committee for the creation of a Japan-America Society of Georgia (JASG), an organization whose object would be to upgrade knowledge of Japanese society, culture, and public affairs among the citizens of Georgia. The organization also aimed to extend hospitality to the more than one thousand Japanese citizens temporarily in residence in

Georgia and to make them aware of the history and traditions of Georgia. The planning committee was composed of people with substantial knowledge of Japan and long-term residence in Japan for business or cultural purposes. They recognized that because of the profound linguistic and cultural differences between Americans and Japanese, increased contact and interaction would hold not only a promise of mutual benefit but also possiblities for misunderstandings or simply a dearth of meaningful communication. The organization's mission was to conduct programs and activities to bridge the cultural gap and thereby insure that the Japanese presence in Georgia would be a fully realized opportunity for the state's growth and development.

The planning committee members — Ann Godsey, Allen Judd, Michael McMullen and George Waldner — were aided greatly in their efforts by the enthusiastic support of the leadership of Coca-Cola Company, particularly Ian Wilson, officer-in-charge of the company's Pacific operations. This assistance was highly appropriate because Coca-Cola Company is the leading example of a Georgia-based company to have established itself in Japan. In Japan, moreover, as Mr. Lancaster has noted, Coca-Cola is also identified with the State of Georgia through the marketing of its coffee-flavored soft drink called "Georgia."

The leading figure in the Japanese business community to sponsor the formation of JASG has been Fred Chanoki, President of Murata-Erie North America, Inc., one of the original Japanese manufacturing investors in Georgia. In June 1980 the founding meeting of the Board of Directors of JASG was held in Atlanta. The decision was mde to incorporate the organization and to elect Ian Wilson as Chairman, Fred Chanoki as Vice-Chairman, D. Raymond Riddle, President of the First National Bank, as Treasurer, and George Waldner as Executive Director. Governor Busbee and then-Consul General Kawade were elected Honorary Co-Chairmen. The Articles of Incorporation adopted at the founding board meeting listed the organization's purposes:

1. To promote greater knowledge of Japan's culture, society, and public affairs among the citizens of Georgia.
2. To promote greater knowledge of crucial issues and problems in U.S.-Japan relations.
3. To promote Japanese citizens resident in Georgia with aspects of American history, culture and lifestyles.
4. To promote friendly relations between the people of Georgia and Japanese citizens residing in Georgia in order to secure better understanding by the people of Georgia of the country, people and customs of Japan.
5. To provide a forum for discussion of topics of common interest to the people of Georgia and the people of Japan, including the arts, literature, and cultural ideas, aspirations and development of each of these areas.
6. To foster and promote scholarship among the students of the colleges, universities and other institutions of higher learning, of both countries, especially in those areas which would lead to a better understanding of one country and its people by the other.

The newly-formed organization joined the Associated Japan-America Societies of the United States, Inc. The parent organization gave programming help to the Atlanta chapter as well as to thirteen other societies around the U.S.A. to best fulfill its purposes, the JASG incorporated as a non-profit, non-governmental, cultural and educational organization.

In January 1981 Betty Weltner became the first full-time JASG staff member, as Executive Secretary. Mrs. Weltner opened the JASG's Atlanta Office at 100 Colony Square and continued in 1983 to serve as Executive Secretary.

Since September 1980, JASG has sponsored a wide range of activities in support of its basic purposes. JASG hosted eight corporate luncheons, a corporate reception, and Annual Dinners, at which experts in Japanese-American relations addressed the membership.[2] In 1981 JASG co-sponsored an educational 'Japan Caravan' at Georgia State University. JASG's women's activities have included a luncheon honoring the director of the Associated Japan-America Societies; a tea ceremony; and half-Japanese, half-American

tomodachi (friendship groups), which meet bimonthly. JASG has sponsored other Japanese cultural activities in Atlanta including beginner and intermediate level Japanese language classes.[3] Through the efforts of paid staff and of hundreds of volunteers, JASG continues to foster understanding, communicaton, and friendship among Japanese and Georgians.

NOTES

[1]*A Survey of Japanese Investments in the United States*, (Chicago: Economic Development Commission of the City of Chicago, 1981).

[2]September 23, 1980: Kenji Kawamura, Managing Director, Foreign Press Center, Japan, "Recent Developments in Japanese Politics: Implications for U.S./Japan Relations;" February 23, 1981: James Balloun, Managing Director, McKinsey & Company, Atlanta, "The White Paper Report Written for the American Chamber of Commerce, Tokyo;" March 13, 1981: Shigemitsu Kuriyama, Chief Economist, IBM/Japan, "Japanese Culture and Economy;" May 7, 1981: Thomas N. Hague, Former President, U.S. Chamber of Commerce/Japan, "Japan and America—Charting a New Course;" October 8, 1981: Clyde Prestowitz, Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Economic Policy, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, "Current Issues in U.S./Japan Economic Affairs;" December 3, 1981: Jack Welsh, Director, International Division, Georgia Department of Industry & Trade, "Report of 1981 Georgia Mission to Japan;" February 8, 1982: Tadayoshi Yamada, Executive Advisor, Nippon Steel Corporation, "Behavioral Characteristics of Japanese Business;" and February 25, 1982: Prof. James Buck, University of Georgia, "Japan's Defense Policy."

[3]November 3, 1980: "Japan and Culture" Day, Oglethorpe University; December 8, 1980: *Kabuki* demonstration, Atlanta Historical Society; May 14-30, 1981: Japanese Film Festival, High Museum of Art, June 21, 1981: Family Outing, co-sponsored by *shokokai* at Stone Mountain park; November 7, 1981: Okinawa Court Dancers at the Civic Center Auditorium. Beginning and intermediate Japanese language classes are offered quarterly by Toshiko Jedlicka, a graduate of Rikkyo University with a M.A. degree in teaching Japanese as a second language. Classes are held at the JASG Office, 100 Colony Square, Atlanta, Georgia.

Fish and water. Traditional Chinese symbols of friendship.

History of the United States-China People's Friendship Association of Atlanta

EDWARD S. KREBS*

In February 1972, three Atlantans who soon afterward would travel to China, established the United States-China People's Friendship Association (USCPFA) of Atlanta. The Atlanta group was one of the first of many chapters of a loosely-federated organization then starting in American cities. In 1974, 350 delegates from thirty-six cities formed a national organizational structure at a meeting in Los Angeles. At both local and national levels, membership reached a high point in 1978, and has gradually declined since then; at both levels, however, the organization remains vital.

Throughout the decade of its life the Atlanta USCPFA has maintained its own strong identity and program. Originally included in the Eastern region ot the national organization, the Atlanta chapter helped to launch chapters in other cities and towns in the Southeast, and in 1975 Atlanta became the headquarters of a separate Southern region.

The USCPFA's brief history covers a time of momentous events in American-East Asian relations. The Atlantans who started their city's USCPFA chapter made their first China trips in 1972, only weeks after President Richard Nixon launched a new era in Sino-American relations with his own visit to the People's Republic. Like the Chinese, USCPFA members regard Nixon's overture to China as one positive feature of his administration. The Watergate crisis and continuing involvment in Vietnam shook American national life until 1975. Then in 1976 a new series of dramatic developments began in China. The deaths of Zhou Enlai and Mao Zedong in 1976 and the subsequent fall of Mao's heirs-apparent, the "Gang of Four," precipitated an apparent reversal of many basic policies in the People's Republic.

---

*Dr. Krebs, a member of the Atlanta chapter of the U.S.-China People's Friendship Association, lives in Douglasville, Georgia. He received a Ph.D. in modern Chinese history from the University of Washington in 1977. His dissertation was a study of the career of Liu Ssu-Fü, one of China's most active anarchists. Dr. Krebs has published several articles on modern Chinese history and has taught the subject at several Atlanta-area colleges.

The history of Atlanta USCPFA reflects the vagaries and ironies of politics. While many of its early members hoped to spread Maoist teachings in this country, the group now seeks to welcome Chinese scholars to Atlanta and to help them understand the United States and its culture. Initially attractive to student radicals of the late 1960s, the Association now is composed mostly of middle-aged, middle-class Atlantans. USCPFA was, in its first few years, virtually the sole agent for trips to China. USCPFA now offers only one of many opportunities to tour China. Despite these changes, the Friendship Association has been an unusual organization, bringing many kinds of people together in a genuinely popular movement that has offered much more than a chance to study China or to go there. This essay will survey some of the main themes in the group's history, attempt to account for its appeal, and explore some of the ironies that have entered into its life.

Organizations do not emerge from nothing; they depend on responses to broadly felt needs and on the hard work of organizers who feel these needs acutely. Perhaps the chief impetus for USCPFA's establishment was the quarter-century of mutual hostility between the governments of the United States and China. Long before the Nixon visit to China in February 1972, many in academia, journalism, and government had hoped for an end to the impasse and looked for some movement in the political sphere. Meanwhile China's revolution had continued, and by the middle 1960s had produced the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which at its best appeared as a great drive for social equality. The youth of China took a direct role in the attempt to achieve social change, and the dedication of many young Americans to changing their own society gave them a sense of solidarity with their Chinese counterparts. The concurrence of "youth revolution" in China and the United States was a second major feature which gave rise to USCPFA's establishment.

The three Atlantans who launched USCPFA made their China trips in this environment. Bill Cozzens and Bea Miner had written many letters to various Chinese agencies asking that they be allowed to visit China. They learned from a California couple who came to Atlanta in 1971 to report on their own trip to China that the China International Travel Service was a useful office to contact.

Bill Cozzens had been a student activist while attending the University of Georgia in the mid 1960s; his interest in China developed when he took a course on modern East Asia at the University.[1] He left school in 1968 to go to Atlanta to work for the Southern Student Organizing Committee. In time he took a job as an operating room attendant at Grady Memorial Hospital; his work in the health care field gave him a particular interest in observing health care in China. Meanwhile, he met and married Bea Miner, who worked at the Georgia Mental Retardation Center and was also taking courses in the Urban Life School at Georgia State University. The couple were thrilled when, in December 1971, word came from China that they could come in two weeks. Except for a medical problem that required immediate attention, they would have made their tour of China before President Nixon made his. As things worked out, they went in April and May 1972, just weeks after Nixon's trip; they managed their expenses by taking a second mortgage on their house.

Bill and Bea had met Hilda Keng during the summer of 1971 as they prepared themselves for a China trip by reading and studying language. Born in the Chang Jiang (Yangtze) valley, province of Anhui, Hilda had left China in 1947, not realizing it would be a quarter-century before she returned.[2] Hoping to contribute to her people's welfare, Hilda went to Nashville, where she studied at Scarritt and George Peabody Colleges. She came to Atlanta for further work at Emory's Candler School of Theology, where she earned a divinity degree and became an ordained Methodist minister. Her work changed from the ministry to education as in the middle 1960s she became a teacher in the DeKalb County schools, offering courses in Chinese history and language at a number of high schools. Hilda retired in 1979. She became an American citizen and a respected member of Atlanta's Asian community. Meanwhile, most of her family had remained in China, where vast change had occurred since 1949. Hilda's wishes for a trip to China centered on a desire to see her family again, and to see what had changed in her native land. Her role in the founding leadership of USCPFA in

Atlanta was an extension of her teaching career. "We had our first meeting in my basement," she says proudly of the group's inauguration in February 1972, just at the time of Nixon's trip.[3]

The name chosen for the group is straightforward, in itself a statement of the organization's purpose. As best he can recall, Bill Cozzens believes the name was suggested by that of a similar organization, one of two or three launched before the Atlanta group. The other group called themselves "U.S.-China Friendship Association," as do such organizations in many other countries. The Atlanta founders decided to insert "People's" in their name, to make it clear that this was a grassroots organization.[4] The Atlanta chapter thus can claim at least a share of the credit for the decision to use this name for the national organization in the United States.

The visits to China, coming soon after that first meeting for Bill and Bea in turn for Hilda, assured that the Chinese would make their own solid contribution to the goal of U.S. — China people's friendship. Everywhere they visited, the Americans received a warm welcome; Hilda was allowed several days for the long-postponed reunion with her family. In retrospect, their tours may be seen as prototypes for those taken by many thousands of Americans who have visited China in the decade since. Bill and Bea went to five cities—Beijing (Peking), Guangzhou (Canton), Shanghai, Hangzhou, and Xian (Sian)—and to places in the countryside near some of these cities. They visited health care facilities, saw the work of "barefoot doctors" (rural paramedics), and saw acupuncture used for treatment and as anesthesia. They observed daily activities in schools, factories, and communes. All three returned to Atlanta eager to share their enthusiasm about China.

Hoping to do just that, and to generate interest in USCPFA, Bill and Bea scheduled a press conference upon their return home. When no one came, their friend David Nolan urged them to go to the *Journal* and *Constitution* offices and to radio and television stations to distribute the statement they had prepared. One result of this episode was that Nolan caught the "China bug" from his friends. He had known Bill since coming to Atlanta from Nashville, working for the Southern Student Organizing Committee; but he'd had only a vague interest in China. Quiet but talented and intense, David read some fifty books on Chinese history and politics in a few weeks. He also assimilated what he read. Soon David was devoting his own energies to USCPFA, too. Cozzens credits Nolan with many of the ideas that were used to build the Atlanta group. "I didn't mind getting up in front of a group and making a fool of myself," Bill says modestly of his own role, "but I'd have to give David credit for many of our best ideas."[5]

Bill and Bea's trip was reported in the *Constitution*, as was Hilda Keng's a few weeks later.[6] As of 1972, however, the membership was very small. Most who had joined by that time were young "movement" people who attached great importance to China's revolution and were particularly attracted to Mao Zedong's revolutionary ideas. The USCPFA cause was new and less volatile than most they had previously undertaken. If ordinary Americans could learn about China's achievements, and appreciate the ideas behind them, they reasoned, soon enought these ordinary Americans would get the message for their own circumstances. Perhaps subconsciously, many of the earliest Atlanta USCPFA members saw this new effort as an extension of their earlier activities. From the beginning, the organizers—Bill, Bea, Hilda, and David—hoped for a broadly-based membership.

Although USCPFA thus set out to be apolitical, the group did address one specific issue in American politics. This was the question of diplomatic reltions with the People's Republic; and Richard Nixon, with his well-established record for opposing communism, had spoken dramatically to this issue. USCPFA asked of those who wished to join only that they accept the "Shanghai communqué which Nixon had signed with Zhou Enlai at the end of his China visit; and that they oppose continued American involvement in Vietnam. Although the Shanghai communiqúe has been subject to different interpretations by the U.S. and P.R.C. governments, the document basically stated that the Beijing government was the only legitimate government of all China, and that Taiwan's future was an internal Chinese affair. Although hardline conservatives rejected these propositions, the group had never counted

on such support anyway, and in a city of Atlanta's size and make up, USCPFA could still build a sizeable membership.

It is worth noting that the "movement" people might not have been interested in USCPFA work if their top priority, anti-Vietnam war activities, had not wound down after 1973. Their early political involvement was a type of experience which would be useful in the new organization, USCPFA.

The challenge facing the Atlanta USCPFA was to increase membership by reaching a broader constituency, capitalizing on a new public interest in China. After its first year the group did this with remarkable success. And they achieved success because they did everythng necessary to build an organization. They carried on an active, well-publicized program. They made people feel welcome and wanted; they followed up on contacts. Despite failing to show up for Bill and Bea's press conference, the Altanta media soon realized the USCPFA leaders had become increasingly sophisticated in publicizing their work, and in garnering newspaper coverage and radio and television appearances when nationally-acclaimed USCPFA speakers came to Atlanta. They also worked very effectively at less glamourous forms of publicity. They used public service announcements on the radio and in newspapers, and posted xeroxed handbills in schools, colleges, and any place else they thought people would take notice. Some of the members worked for Atlanta's underground newspaper, *The Great Speckled Bird*, which had a broad readership. At each USCPFA event, sign-up sheets were circulated, producing names, addresses, and telephone numbers of potential new members. Without the necessary legwork, telephoning, and expression of personal warmth to develop these contacts the organization would have remained small. Volunteers undertook these details with an enthusiasm and dedication to purpose which had also characterized their antiwar activities. USCPFA's early life may be seen as an example of grassroots organization-building.

As the group grew, it carried on a wide variety of programs. In the beginning the humble slide show served the organization well. Bill and Bea and Hilda began spreading the word by making themselves available to present their China experience in pictures they had taken themselves; many different audiences in Atlanta and in many towns in the northern half of Georgia saw these presentations. Recognizing the appeal of this kind of program, the group asked all applicants for a China trip to be prepared to show their slides to others after returning home.

The Atlanta group also drew on the resources of the growing national USCPFA organization and its friends and supporters for attractive programs. A number of China experts supported the USCPFA movement through national speaking tours. William Hinton, a Pennsylvanian who had gone to China following World War II to assist in rebuilding agriculture, and them returned many times as an advisor, came to Atlanta in the spring of 1973. Widely known for his book *Fanshen*, about the post-1949 transformation of one rural area in Shanxi province, Hinton addressed large and varied audiences in three appearances in Atlanta. Other out-of-town speakers discussed law, health care, and the status of women in China. Atlanta audiences were intrigued with Americans who had visited China, or lived there, during those long years when many Americans had been conditioned to see China as a place of "deep red darkness."

The national USCPFA network also circulated films to local groups, and the Atlanta chapter used these to attract interest. China films showed at the "Film Forum" in Ansley Mall. Owner George Ellis, long active in the arts in Atlanta (and better known to vintage television fans in the area as "Bestoink Dooley," the character he created), made his theater available to the Friendship Association, requiring only that the group pay his projectionist the union wage. Large crowds gathered at the "Film Forum" to learn about developments in China.

USCPFA organized short courses to acquaint new members with Chinese history and current events. Hilda Keng was one of the regular instructors, anxious to teach her fellow Atlantans about China.

Publication of a newsletter became one of the Association's earliest activities. Sales revenue from a newsletter might at least partially alleviate the organization's chronic funding difficulties. Usually devoted to a single topic, issues of the newsletter discussed the same themes in print as were covered by speakers or films. The newsletter carried only a nominal charge, and again the group found itself giving away more than it was taking in. Each issue also contained an appeal to interested people to join USCPFA at a cost of five dollars (which in 1983 remains the annual membership fee). In time, the growth of membership eased the financial problem. Most of all, however, this organization thrived on the enthusiasm of its members.

The Atlanta USCPFA established contacts throughout the Southeast. A classified ad in *The Great Speckled Bird* brought inquiries from all over the Southeast and from other sections of the country as well. A number of letters came from men serving time in prison, who often asked for all the free literature on China the group could send.[7] Another of the group's devoted members, Becky Hamilton, wrote most of the warm responses to these letters. Devotion to the work could generate devotion to another of the group's members; Becky met David Nolan through USCPFA work, and in due course they were married.

By about the middle of 1974, all the exposure and hard work began to reap returns. Although "movement" people remained an important element, the Atlanta chapter's membership was beginning to reflect its outreach into the larger community. Among the first to join USCPFA from this broader constituency were Bill and Camille Funk, formerly missionaries in Sarawak, where they had worked with many overseas Chinese who had left China when the Communist government came to power in 1949.[8] Back in the Atlanta area, Bill taught history at Decatur High School. The Funks began to wonder whether the negative views they had heard from anti-communist Chinese in Sarawak represented the whole story. USCPFA offered information about China and a chance to go there, which both Bill and Camille hoped to do. After some hesitancy they decided to join, and after joining they worked hard for the organization. They helped to attract audiences who would come to hear "former missionaries," as the Funks were often billed, but never to hear "young radicals." Both became leaders in the Atlanta group. Bill served as president and as a regional representative on the national steering committee.

As people of different backgrounds began to join, a healthy symbiosis developed between the younger "old" USCPFA members and the older "new" members. This interaction became one of the group's most appealing qualities and a major cause of its continued growth. As they worked together, the membership saw something unusual and extremely pleasant happening; they liked each other, and each learned that the others genuinely cared about other human beings. It was the sort of thing that happens all too rarely in the lives of organizations.

Camille Funk was one of two Atlantans selected for the first USCPFA-sponsored China tour. She was in China in September 1974, just at the time the national USCPFA was formally organized at the Los Angeles convention. Tours became major attraction for USCPFA. Local chapters were allotted places on tours organized by the regional offices of the organization. Even though individuals had to pay their own expenses, only a small number could be accommodated. Local chapters prepared applicants for trips through their study programs, and then rigorously selected those judged best able to profit themselves and the organization with a trip. The selections were forwarded to the Chinese government for approval of visas. After several trips, the Atlanta USCPFA realized that the Chinese had not rejected a single applicant whom they had recommended. Until normalization of relations in 1979 broadened the options for travel to China, USCPFA was virtually the only way for most Americans to get a trip. Thus Atlanta and other local chapters now also attracted people who had hoped, sometime in their lives, to see the Great Wall or the Ming Tombs, plus those who simply loved to travel. To the membership now came people whose chief common trait was an adventurous spirit, and a desire to be selected for the China trips.

One of these adventurous types was Freddye Henderson, a black woman who operated

a travel agency in Atlanta. Partly because of her own interest but also because USCPFA found few others in Atlanta willing to set up trips to China, Henderson's agency arranged the group's tours for some time. She also had taken a China tour herself, in 1973, traveling on Ethiopian Airlines' first flight from Addis Ababa to Beijing.[9] Through this and other associations, USCPFA developed links with Atlanta's black community. James Bond, then a member of the Atlanta City Council, went on a USCPFA tour and later served as a tour leader.[10]

Besides trips for paying customers, USCPFA operated membership tours, offering greatly reduced rates to those who had worked diligently for the organization. These tours helped to maintain solidarity for the core of "movement" people, still a vital element in the membership. Emulating the Chinese style they admired, they could sacrifice to see one of their own get a trip and trust that, in time, their own turn would come.

For these and other admirers of Mao Zedong, 1976 was a disheartening year. The death of Zhou Enlai in January removed a beloved leader, the source of stability in what had been a turbulent decade. Zhu De, builder of the Red Army, died the following July. The great Tangshan earthquake at the end of July seemed a portent of another period of momentous change. Bill Cozzens and twenty others in a Southern Region tour group were in Beijing when the 'quake hit. Bill noted that the Chinese handled the crisis coolly and efficiently, providing all possible assistance to the affected area, some ninety miles southeast of Beijing.[11] Mao had been failing for many months; he died in September. His passing set off political rumblings that soon produced a change of course in national policy. Although it appeared that Mao's widow, Jiang Qing, and associates who shared her ultra-left views would accede to leadership, within a month this "Gang of Four" had been arrested, charged with treason, and made targets of a campaign to fix blame for China's difficulties in economic development. Within a year after Mao's death, Deng Xiaoping, who remains In 1983 the single most influential figure in the leadership, emerged once again and began to lay out a new world. This reversal greatly surprised many USCPFA members who had come to know the China of the Cultural Revolution.

Atlanta-USCPFA's food booth, Piedmont Park Arts Festival, May 1976. Bill Cozzens.

Bea and Bea Cozzens in front of Chariman Mao Zedong's childhood home, Shaoshan, China, March 1978. Bea and Bill were on their third China trip, this time as leaders of a Southern Region USCPFA tour group. Bill Cozzens.

Deng's new policies were bound to cause repercussions in USCPFA, because many of its members were so attracted to Maoist ideals. At the local level in Atlanta, however, the fallout was limited, and the organization was not affected very directly or immediately.[12] The chapter continued its broad outreach activities, such as China tours and participation in the 1976 Piedmont Arts Festival. (See photos accompanying this article.)

The Atlanta group's success at recruiting broadly seems most responsible for the mild reaction locally. Much more likely to be simply ardent travelers than ardent Maoists, those who had joined the Atlanta chapter during the preceding two or three years did not react strongly to the reversal of policy. While concerned about the welfare of the Chinese people, most in the Atlanta group were prepared to take China on its own terms, even though those terms might change.

At the national USCPFA level there were significant reactions to China's new course; these came to a head in the 1978 national convention at San Francisco. A small but insistent group in USCPFA's extreme left wing urged that the organization be disbanded as a response to Deng Xiaoping's policies. The episode ended with this group walking out of the meeting and the organization, having failed to convince others of their proposal's merit.[13]

The 1977 national meeting, held in Atlanta, had produced another debate directly involving David Nolan, who for the previous few years had played an important role in the national leadership.[14] These discussions centered not on Chinese policies but on USCPFA's future. David favored the continual steady growth of a broadly-based organization; he was particularly concerned about the role of the magazine, *New China*, that USCPFA had begun to publish. The magazine was excellent but expensive to produce; Nolan felt that available funds should be used for more modest but nonetheless informative publications. He failed to carry a majority on these questions, but he was less upset at losing on the issues than over what he considered unfair tactics which his opposition had used. Reflecting on the affair after

his return home, David decided to withdraw from USCPFA activity. The Atlanta group lost one of its most capable leaders as a result.[15]

In December 1978 President Jimmy Carter announced that full normalization of relations between the United States and China would commence on January 1, 1979. Carter was no doubt sensitive to the desires of American banks and corporations who believed that normalization would give U.S. foreign trade a much-needed shot-in-the-arm. He was probably influenced by the view that China could serve as a potential counterweight to the Soviet Union. Although the Carter administration had prepared for normalization during the previous several months, it still caught many people, including USCPFA members, by surprise. Normalization fulfilled the chief objective of the Shanghai communique, which by this time was almost seven years old. Most USCPFA members had grown accustomed to temporizing statements from American leaders and were prepared to wait years for normalization. In Atlanta as throughout the country, USCPFA hailed the announcement with celebrations.

Dramatic moments followed quickly one after another at this time, climaxing in Deng Xiaoping's visit to the United States in late January and early February 1979. Deng made Atlanta his first stop after the usual formalities in Washington. For Atlantans, the visit was especially welcome. The timing of his visit nearly coincided with Coca-Cola's being accepted as the major foreign soft drink manufacturer in China. The Atlanta USCPFA had a minor role in local preparations for Deng's visit to the city, and members attended the banquet that marked the occasion. When Deng visited Martin Luther King, Jr.'s grave, a contigent of USCPFA members were present, carrying a small sign to identify themselves. One of Deng's aides noted the group's presence, and the Vice-Premier greeted them with a wave and a broad smile.[16]

Strangely, it would seem, normalization had a more adverse effect on the Atlanta USCPFA than had the momentous events of 1976 in China. The goal that had absorbed USCPFA since its beginning had been achieved. While the membership in Atlanta and elsewhere were pleased to see China getting so much attention, they were at a loss about what to do next. A few days' front-page coverage of Deng Xiaoping's visit in American newspapers had done more to publicize China than had years of patient work. Business people, bankers, and travel agents flocked to get into the China market, which again, as at other periods in the past, seemed to them a bonanza waiting to be worked. Perhaps the experienced members of the Association realized at the time that a new phase of activity would become apparent when this latest dramatic moment passed.

Since normalization, many of the Atlanta USCPFA's earliest members have drifted away. Some "movement" people had devoted years to the group, and were ready to move on to some other project; the demands of family life, or other changes that come with the passage of years, have altered their priorities or their use of time. Bea Miner continues to serve the Southern Region USCPFA staff as coordinator of tours. Bill Cozzens remains active in the Atlanta chapter, pleased to see it thriving even though the numbers are smaller. After a high point approaching three hundred in the 1970s, the membership now stands at about ninety.

The post-normalization period has indeed presented new work, of the sort described in the opening paragraph of USCPFA's "Statement of Principles" (which has remained the same since 1972): "our goal is to build active and lasting friendship between people of the United States and the people of China."[17] A major impact of normalization, along with China's thrust for modernization and shortage of university facilities in China, has been to to bring a number of Chinese scholars to the Atlanta area. Presently there are some fifty Chinese scholars engaged in Georgia in individualized programs of study or research, with the largest numbers at Georgia Institute of Technology and at the Center for Disease Control. Their presence gives USCPFA members the opportunity to reciprocate the warm welcome they received when they visited China, and to address the organization's essential purpose, that of building friendship. Thus, in addition to other ongoing aspects of its program—China tours, informational and educational program, reports by members on

their trips to new areas of China now open to travel, including Tibet—the Atlanta group has been engaged in the project of welcoming the Chinese scholars.

This friendship activity takes several forms. Chinese scholars attend meetings of USCPFA. There are some group activities, such as visits to industrial plants in the Atlanta area. Most rewarding, to those who have become involved in it, is a "one-on-one" program, in which USCPFA members develop individual friendships with the scholars. These personal changes provide the Chinese a chance to improve their conversational English and to ask questions about American life. For those who serve as hosts, the process is not just one-way: they continue to learn about China by asking questions themselves. Herb and Audrey Burt, a retired couple who have worked in the "one-on-one" program for some time, find it extremely valuable. "This gives us a chance to know the Chinese personally," says Herb, "and after a while, you realize that the Chinese are as different from each other as we Americans are."[18] Audrey Burt reports an episode that gets to the essence of mutual understanding. One of the Chinese scholars was near the end of his two-year stay at Georgia Tech. Shortly before he left, he asked a question he had long wanted to ask, but had not for fear of hurting someone's feelings: "These animals—alligators and other things—that people wear on their clothes. What do they mean? Do these people belong to some sort of club?" The queston—and perhaps the answer too—suggest the dimensions and possibilities of this project. Like other aspects of USCPFA's work, it is a noble venture, down-to-earth in nature, and never far from an interesting surprise.

International friendship can be both elevating and frustrating to those who attempt it. Most people in most nations move beyond the boundaries of their daily lives only involuntarily, for work or for war. Those who seek new experiences in travel and international friendship are, more often than not, the idealists among the educated. From time to time the idea of international friendship gains broad appeal, as among members of religious groups or political movements who see themselves as members of communities without national boundaries. USCPFA can be seen as similar to such movements, arising at a time when Americans had grown skeptical of established institutions and attracting the devoted service of young educated idealists. That the organization struck a responsive chord suggests that the organizers' skepticism was shared by many in the broader community they sought to reach. Although idealism has been important in USCPFA, its goals are relatively modest and realistic; members learn through travel and personal contacts, without setting nationality aside.

As USCPFA's experience has shown, much that is positive can be achieved by this approach. One wonders how the course of this country's relations with Iran might have been different in recent years, had a U.S.-Iran People's Friendship Association been active for a decade before Iran's revolution. Obviously the existence of USCPFA is no guarantee that equally distressing events will not befall American-Chinese relations; but USCPFA's practical approach to international relations seems an excellent way to avoid such disasters and to mitigate them should they occur.

In a decade of activity, USCPFA's work has been fruitful, and all indications are that it will continue this way for years to come. Furthermore, the Atlanta USCPFA enterprise might point to a time when people everywhere will question government-fostered images of other nations, and reserve the right of their own judgment.

NOTES

I thank those in the Atlanta USCPFA for their contributions to this essay; without such cooperation, a project in contemporary history would be impossible. Bill Cozzens has talked extensively with me and has graciously allowed me the use of his files, which cover most of the decade. I am also grateful for interviews with Hilda Keng, Bill and Camille Funk, Herb and Audrey Burt, Jerry Minear, Kai Yong (currently president), Margareta Davis, and Paul Hagan.

Those who may wish to contact the U.S.-China People's Friendship Association may communicate with the USCPFA Regional Office, Suite 1026, 100 Edgewood Avenue, S.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

Interviews are cited by last name and date, except that first names are added to distinguish between spouses.

[1]Bill Cozzens 1/29/83.

[2] Keng 1/25/83.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4]Bill Cozzens 2/21/83.

[5]Bill Cozzens 1/29/83.

[6]*Atlanta Constitution*, 6/12/72 and 8/10/72, respectively, for the Cozzens-Miner trip and the Keng trip.

[7]Bill Cozzens' USCPFA correspondence file.

[8] Bill Funk 1/18/83; Camille Funk 2/15/83.

[9] Shannon, Margaret, "Friends of the People's Republic," *Atlanta Journal and Constitution Magazine* (Sunday), 2/29/76. This is a well researched and lucid account of the Atlanta USPCFA through early 1976.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Atlanta Constitution* 8/2/76.

[12]Bill Cozzens 1/29/83.

[13] *Ibid.*

[14]Shannon, "Friends of the People's Republic." One photograph accompanying Shannon's article shows Nolan standing behind Deng Xiaoping and William Hinton, taken when Deng held an impromptu meeting to welcome a USCPFA delegation.

[15]Bill Cozzens 1/29/83 and 2/21/83.

[16]Bill Cozzens 1/29/83.

[17] This statement appeared in USCPFA's first printed circulars, and is repeated in the current by-laws.

[18] Herb Burt 2/11/83.

DATE DUE

Jan. 30, 1985 @ 12 Noon			

DEMCO 38-297

West Georgia College
Studies in the
Social Sciences

EXPLORING THE LIVED WORLD

Readings in Phenomenological Psychology

Edited by

Christopher M. Aanstoos

RECEIVED
MAY 10 1984
PERIODICALS DEPT.
Irvine Sullivan Ingram Library
CARROLLTON, GEORGIA

WEST GEORGIA COLLEGE

STUDIES IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Volume XXIII **1984**

EXPLORING THE LIVED WORLD: READINGS IN PHENOMENOLOGICAL PSYCHOLOGY

Christopher M. Aanstoos
Volume Editor

CONTENTS

Page

Foreword ..... *Robert H. Claxton and Mike Arons* iii

Preface ..... *Christopher M. Aanstoos* 1

PART ONE: FOUNDATIONS

1. Towards a New Paradigm for Psychology ..... *Amedeo P. Giorgi* 9

2. Procedures in Phenomenological Research and the Question of Validity ..... *Frederick J. Wertz* 29

3. Phenomenology of the Unconscious ..... *Robert J. Masek* 49

PART TWO: FINDINGS

4. Forming Clinical Impressions: A Phenomenological Study of Psychodiagnostic Seeing .....*Scott D. Churchill* 67

5. Corpulence and Corporeality: Phenomenological Perspectives on the Intestinal Bypass Patient ..... *Donald Moss* 85

6. Adolescent First Love ..... *Richard J. Alapack* 101

7. The Experience of the Retiree's Social Network during the Transition to Retirement... *Gail A. Hornstein and Seymour Wapner* 119

8. The Dwelling Door: A Phenomenological Exploration of Transition .....*Richard Lang* 137

TITLES IN PRINT

$2.00 each:

Vol. VIII, 1969, *Some Aspects of Black Culture.*

Vol. XI, 1972, *Georgia Diplomats and Nineteenth Century Trade Expansion.*

Vol. XIII, 1974, *American Diplomatic History: Issues and Methods.*

$3.00 each:

Vol. XIV, 1975, *Political Morality, Responsiveness, and Reform in America.*

Vol. XV, 1976, *The American Revolution: The Home Front.*

Vol. XVI, 1977, *Essays on the Human Geography of the Southeastern United States.*

Vol. XVIII, 1979, *The Southeastern United States: Essays on the Cultural and Historical Landscape.*

$4.00 each:

Vol. XIX, 1980, *Sapelo Papers: Researches in the History and Prehistory of Sapelo Island, Georgia.*

Vol. XX, 1981, *Games Without Frontiers: Essays for a Protean Sociology.*

Vol. XXI, 1982, *Supply-Side Economics: Pro and Con.*

Vol. XXII, 1983, *Georgia's East Asian Connection, 1733-1983.*

Copyright © 1984, West Georgia College

Printed in U.S.A.

Darby Printing Company

715 West Whitehall Street, S.W.

Atlanta, Georgia 30310

Price for this volume: $4.00

($1.00 discount per copy with standing orders or orders of ten or more to one address.)

Cost: $2040

500 copies

ISSN 0081-8682

FOREWORD

This volume is the first time *Studies in the Social Sciences* has devoted an issue to psychology. It marks the fifteenth anniversary of West Georgia College's M.A. program in humanistic psychology. Through this program the Psychology Department has been a pioneer of the paradigmatic change that has infused contemporary psychology and is exemplified by the essays in this book. Given that significance, it is appropriate to begin the volume with a brief review of the origin and development of that graduate program.

During the 1960's, European-bred phenomenology and existentialism helped power a new vision of the human subject matter, particularly in the northeastern United States. Almost concurrently, from the west coast of the country, ways of thinking and experiencing from the Orient were being adapted to give direction to the more ephemeral California lifestyle. These two currents of philosophical thought, while not identical, were sufficiently compatible to provide the basis for a humanistic revisioning of psychology. Both currents were consciously reflected in the psychology program West Georgia inaugurated. In explicit recognition of the sources, one of forty-five courses introduced as the new curriculum was called "Holistic Psychology: East and West."

This revisioning of psychology was no mere intellectual exercise for the department. Indeed, perhaps most radical of all innovations was the teaching environment developed in the program to suit this new orientation. In fact, it was the issue of instruction which first concerned the faculty in the department in 1967. These faculty members deplored the lack of personal value in traditional psychology courses. They proposed a new introductory course, called "Personal Relations," which emphasized subject matter as a direct vehicle for students' personal growth. Primed by this possibility, they sought leadership to set the whole curriculum in a direction more compatible with that emphasis. They contacted Abraham Maslow who recommended Mike Arons to head the program. Arons joined the department and a shared vision began to take form. Faculty were brought in to develop courses in existential psychology, hermeneutics, phe-

nomenological theory and research, psychology of myths and dreams, creativity, perceptual psychology, holistic health, transpersonal psychology, death and dying, and growth therapies.

To grasp the radical nature of West Georgia's new program one must recall that in 1968 not a single American standard textbook nor history of psychology—save one written by Gardner Murphy—mentioned a word about existentialism or Oriental psychology. Even the term "consciousness" was considered anathema by traditional psychology. The department's new holistic orientation directly confronted an implanted theology of elementism. Its inclusion of subjects such a "will and choice" countered an almost universal presupposition of determinism. Concepts such as "self-realization" and "actualization" were reintroduced not only as teleology but as a context within which values and meanings could no longer be ignored or treated as epiphenomena. Phenomenology provided a fundamental understanding and a descriptive methodology faithful to the study of human existence. It also obliged psychology to reexamine its vaunted divorce from philosophy and to recall in a different light its own empirical dictum to return to the source of experience.

The values underlying the program have been vital to Western thought since Socrates: to examine life, to know oneself. These values were incorporated at West Georgia within an atmosphere pointedly encouraging personal and scholarly exploration. An administrative environment suited to honesty of expression was supportive of the trust which makes these possible. Implicit to the above was a respect for diversity and uniqueness which diminished the power of normative judgments and increased the range of idea-centered critique. This atmosphere encouraged a tolerance for ambiguity and it situated the striving for competence and quality at an intrinsic rather than extrinsic level. If, as sometimes claimed, the basic tendencies of man are toward chaos or anarchy, this climate was surely a testing ground.

Of course, there were built-in countervailing factors to those which might lead to chaos: some external, some internal. The department is part of an administrative structure, centrally controlled in Georgia, which has both system-wide and institutional objectives as well as controls over most institutional functions. More immediate controls are held by the college administration, even more so in the 1960's than at present. The West Georgia College administration in 1968 gave full official support to the

new orientation, though not without expressed trepidation. Early administrative support permitted the vision to unfold and yet kept the results from overpouring the edges of the broader academic mission.

Internal unifying tendencies were less visible but at least as significant. The vision itself was shared not only by faculty but by the students whom the program attracted. Simultaneous with the development of a radically new paradigm, provisions were also made to meet the needs of those students seeking a more traditional psychology background. These dual objectives were reconciled in the following ways: by offering students the widest possible choice in courses or scholarly direction; by re-designing courses so that both traditional and innovative themes were expressed in relevant relationship; and by hiring faculty who were not only dedicated to humanistic psychology but were also competently versed in more traditional approaches. Finally, the most important unifying factor was not based on necessity but on consequence. The academic experience was so electrifying that concerns about dissolution hardly ever arose. Indeed, the program was likened by some critics to a cult. In fact, however, the department's focus was hardly inbred. On the contrary it has consistently initiated and fostered the widest possible dialogue. It has hosted five regional and national conferences and was the planning center for international conventions held in Wurzburg and Paris. In May 1984 the department hosted the international meeting of the Human Science Research Association, formerly held at such prominent universities as Michigan and Duquesne. Through these functions the department joins the larger intellectual community at psychology's forward edge.

By 1973, the program was so renowned that faculty reviewed hundreds of applications to the Master's program per year, from everywhere in this country and from around the world. The program and atmosphere appeal to certain kinds of students and faculty who tend to recognize each other. That there are few other academic environments like West Georgia's and that this one attracts individuals interested in a more aesthetic, creative and holistic psychology, explains in large part why the department has drawn some of the brightest students and faculty available. Of the nearly 800 alumni who have graduated from the Master's program over the past 15 years, so many have gone on to leadership roles or doctoral programs in areas

near to and far from psychology that reports to this effect are now routine. Few will ever forget their experience at West Georgia.

Robert H. Claxton and Mike Arons
General Editor *Chairman, Psychology Department*
West Georgia College

PREFACE

This volume advances an alternative approach to psychological life. This alternative, now coalescing as a result of recent paradigmatic change, involves the incorporation of phenomenology into the foundations of psychological theory and praxis. Perhaps its most succinct introduction is the maxim proposed by Husserl, phenomenology's philosophical founder: "To the things themselves!" This imperative expresses phenomenology's aim to understand phenomena on their own terms rather than to seek explanation by going "behind" phenomena via operationally defined hypotheses about them. A phenomenological psychology aims to understand the meaningfulness of human experience as it is actually lived.

At first glance, that aim seems so obvious that one must ask: hasn't it always been psychology's task? Implicitly it has, but explicitly it founded itself within a conceptual and methodological approach that precluded it from doing so. Psychology forfeited the possibility of studying human meaning as the price of its commitment to imitate the model of the physical, or natural, sciences. Upon self-consciously separating from philosophy in the nineteenth century, psychology chose the conceptual foundations of the sciences of nature. It sought to establish itself as a "physics of the mind" or a "mental chemistry," without realizing that the uniqueness of the human, or social sciences, required their own original foundation.

The history of psychology credits Wundt's experimental laboratory of 1879 as having spawned psychology's institutionalization of experimental natural science methodology. A deeper historical analysis, however, demonstrates that this approach was not the only alternative available to psychology. Comtemporaneously with Wundt, Brentano argued that psychology could better approach its own subject matter if it was a descriptive, rather than experimental, science. Shortly afterwards, Dilthey distinguished the human sciences (those whose focus is the human world) from the natural sciences (those whose focus is the world of nature). This distinction was not meant to indicate that there are two worlds. Rather, it distinguishes the study of the world as it is lived from the study of the world conceived independently of

human presence. Dilthey pointed out a fundamental difference between the experienced world and the world conceived as an object independent of experience. The former, precisely because it is lived, presents itself as a constellation, or network of meaning; that is, as a structure to be understood and described as such. The latter, on the other hand, does not. Lacking such an intrinsic nexus of significance, this objectified world can be comprehended only by establishing extrinsic, causal relations among its parts. This establishment of such extrinsic relations is thus the proper task of the natural sciences, but not of psychology as a human science.

But psychology in the late nineteenth century did not follow the lead proposed by Brentano and Dilthey. It chose to ignore their essential distinction and instead conceptualized its subject matter naturalistically, in order to proceed as an experimentally based positivistic science. Human behavior was taken to be just as mechanistic and causally determined as the actions of molecules or machines, and those aspects of it that did not conform to this model were ruled "out of bounds" and ignored as not scientific, or worse, as not real. Such an approach is not unlike that of King Procrustes in Greek mythology, who fit his guests to his bed by cutting off their feet if they were too long or by stretching them if they were too short. Psychology made the same mistake by forcing its subject matter to conform to a pre-existing methodology rather than inventing methods adequate to its subject matter. In that way, psychology thwarted itself and so excluded the very possibility of being able to fulfill its own originary purpose.

The current change in psychology is the re-awakening of this unfulfilled purpose, and a re-dedication to its achievement. Its intellectual precursor is particularly existential-phenomenology as developed by Husserl, Heidegger, Sartre, and Merleau-Ponty. For phenomenological psychology, the fundamental psychological reality is human being-in-the-world, a term indicative of an essential relation of person and world. "Comportment," "experience," "expression," "action," "behavior," "consciousness" — these are all different names for this relation. Likewise, all the usual processes that psychology studies — perception, memory, learning, thinking, emotion, motivation — are specific modes by which people relate to the world. Phenomenology's most basic discovery is that this relation is lived as an intentional

unity, a correlation of experiencer-experienced. Thus, psychologically speaking, a person is always "in relation to" or "directed toward" or "intending" something. Furthermore, by virtue of this intentional unity, that toward which the person is directed coheres, that is, it presents itself to experience as always already meaningful in some way.

Methodologically, then, the research task of the phenomenological psychologist is to study that meaningful coherence of experience as it is lived. To do so, it must be attended to on its own terms (which was precisely the sense of Husserl's maxim "to the things themselves"). As has already been said, psychology traditionally conceived of its subject matter naturalistically. Along those lines, it viewed the subject's world as a random heap of extrinsic, impinging stimuli, to which sense was subsequently somehow added by the person. But these are terms borrowed from the physical sciences: they are not the terms by which the world is ordinarily lived by people in their everyday experience. Psychologists can view the world in that way, but when such a theoretically derived viewpoint is posited as that lived by the subject, then a "category error" has been committed. The researcher's conception of the world has been put in the place of the subject's living of it. The world is not lived as something foreign to the person, but as a situation carved out by one's involvements. Perhaps a specific example would help clarify this point. Cognitive psychology has now constructed computer models of thought and has applied these models to areas that require thinking — such as chess. The program of such a computer chess player is then taken as a simulation of human thought. The computer proceeds by applying pre-determined heuristic search and evaluation rules. But to mistake this conception of how chess can be played for an understanding of how people actually do think in chess is to commit the aforementioned category error, substituting the researcher's knowledge for the subject's experience.

And how does phenomenology avoid this error? First by respecting the contextualized, or situated, character of experience. Phenomenological studies generally aim to discover the significance of any psychological phenomenon by studying its occurrence in actual, everyday experience. For example, if one's research interest was perceptual thematization, then it would be more illuminating to study it in the context of the subject's picking out groceries in a supermarket than it would be to have the

subject detect randomly generated dots on an electronic screen in a laboratory. Meaning inheres in situations: stripping away the context is like throwing out the baby with the bath water. Second, phenomenological research remains faithful to experience by proceeding descriptively. It begins by obtaining naive descriptions from subjects. The data-generating questions are open-ended, designed to allow subjects to "tell their story" about specific situations in which they actually experienced the topic in question.

Nor is this descriptive emphasis compromised by the imposition of hypothetical constructs at a later step. Rather, the researcher's aim is to reflectively determine and explicate the essential structure of the experience. That is achieved by making explicit the meaningful coherence that may have been lived only prethematically, and hence described only implicitly by the subject. In that way, phenomenological research is not caught by the same dilemmas that plagued introspectionism. It does not require that subjects grasp the essential structure of their experience, only that they describe their experience as they lived it. It is properly the task of the researcher to make this structure explicit. There are already well established procedures for teasing out that which is essentially invariant in subjects' descriptions. What is sought are not merely invariant facts, but instead the invariant structure within which the individual contingencies cohere. By analogy, one may picture the grasp of this structural invariance to be similar to the way that a *theme* in music is grasped as that which is common to all its *variations*. The final step is to provide a structural description of the essential psychological significance of the experience. And therein lies the true value of phenomenological psychology. It returns, as its gift back to the lived world, an explicit understanding of that which lies closest to human beings: the meaningful coherence of experience.

The various chapters in this volume contribute to that project in the following ways. Part one, consisting of chapters 1, 2 and 3, addresses key foundational issues. In the first, Giorgi presents the case for fundamental revision in psychology. He notes the specific problems of the natural science basis traditionally assumed by the field. Then he shows how the adoption of a phenomenological approach overcomes these problems. In so doing he carefully delineates what phenomenological psychology is, and what it is not. In the second chapter, Wertz reviews in detail

the actual procedures involved in doing phenomenological research. In addition to his specification of methodology, Wertz also addresses the crucial question often asked by traditional psychologists: how can the validity of phenomenological findings be determined? He shows that at each step of phenomenological investigation, means are available for checking its validity. In chapter 3, Masek examines the contours of a phenomenology of the unconscious. In addition to establishing the relations between phenomenological and psychoanalytic approaches, he refutes the inaccurate criticism that phenomenology is limited to the study of conscious experience. Indeed, he shows that a phenomenological understanding of the unconscious, as it is lived, provides important revisions to Freudian conceptions.

Part two of this volume, consisting of chapters 4 through 8, provides reports of concrete psychological studies carried out along phenomenological lines. If phenomenology is ever to prosper within psychology, it must be able to do more than cogently criticize and propose an alternative foundation. It must also carry out that programmatic alternative with actual research of significant psychological issues. The proof of the pudding, in the end, is in the eating. Each of these chapters provides an example of the efficacy of a phenomenological approach to yield understanding of the world of immediate experience. In chapter 4, Churchill presents the findings of his study of how clinical psychologists form an impression of a client through the intake interview. He shows that this impression formation involves a creative synthesis by the clinician that is unlike any statistical or mechanistic model. In chapter 5, Moss discusses the results of his research on the experience of obese patients following intestinal by-pass surgery. He reveals how the body as lived may differ in fundamental ways from the body viewed as an object. In chapter 6, Alapack describes the phenomenon of adolescent first love. He elaborates the specific dimensions of the experience and its significance for the person. In chapter 7, Hornstein and Wagner review their study of the transition to retirement as it is lived by a close family member of the retiree. They develop an understanding of the significance that a social network can have for a retiree, and the impact of that person's retirement on the social network. In chapter 8, another form of transition is explored. Lang examines the lived experience of transition through a reflective explication of the significance of doors as passages in eve-

ryday life. Taken together, these chapters provide a spectrum of phenomenological psychology's capacity to explore the world as it is lived. If an explicit comparison were attempted between these chapters and traditional psychology, it is with "applied psychology" that such a relation could be noted, for it is only there that natural scientific psychology even concerns itself with the lived world. Chapter 4 relates to clinical psychology, chapter 5 to medical psychology, chapter 6 to developmental psychology, chapter 7 to social and developmental psychology, and chapter 8 to environmental psychology. Yet those areas are usually so constrained by the foundational commitments of traditional psychology that they fail to grasp the fullness of the lived world that is disclosed by these phenomenological studies. They are provided here to invite the reader to take the phenomenological turn — to examine the world of psychological life as it is given in immediate experience, and thus to discover the fecundity of meaning inhabiting therein.

Christopher M. Aanstoos
Assistant Professor of Psychology
West Georgia College
Volume Editor

PART ONE
FOUNDATIONS

TOWARDS A NEW PARADIGM FOR PSYCHOLOGY

Amedeo P. Giorgi*

The greatest stumbling block under which psychology has been laboring is its ambition to be a natural science. The best thing that can happen to psychology is to free itself of this constraint and theorize anew what kind of knowledge it can provide. This radical change in perspective will put an end to psychology's preparadigmatic phase and it will then enter into a genuinely scientific phase with psychological problems that only an authentic psychology could handle. The only way to achieve and solidify this step is for psychologists to engage in fundamental reflection, theorizing and systematizing of psychological issues and problems. I will first give three examples of problems that I believe are symptomatic of psychology's foundational difficulties. I shall then sketch a vision of what psychology should look like and try to show how this vision could, in principle, overcome the three difficulties I outlined.

Let me begin by pointing out that psychology has not always been conceived as a natural science. Daniel Robinson (1981) has observed that psychology has historically served many authorities. Among others, psychology developed under the authority of Aristotle (scholastic psychology), under the authority of Faith (patristic psychology), under the authority of experience (empirical psychology), under the authority of materialism (mechanistic psychology). Our own age, for the most part, has accepted a psychology that developed under the authority of natural science. The best indicator of this acceptance is that psychology, as an independent discipline, began in 1879 with the establishment of a laboratory by Wundt. Note, it is the laboratory - the most potent symbol of the natural sciences - that is used as the criterion to mark the founding.

Robinson's work makes two important contributions in speaking of the "authorities" under which psychology has developed. First, it reveals that in any particular era psychology does not necessarily have the last word on knowledge - despite the claims of

* Department of Psychology, Duquesne University, Pittsburgh, Pa. 15282

natural scientific psychology. Second, by specifying the various authorities under which psychology developed it becomes clear that there is not one single historical or systematic authority, and that the choice of an authority or context is not entirely arbitrary either. Indeed, since its influence is so pervasive, it would seem that the choice of authority or context would be one of the most significant choices that a psychologist would have to make. It is not a choice that one should leave to tradition, convention, prestige or intellectual inertia.

Another way of focusing on this issue is to perform a simple thought experiment. Suppose it is the year 2079, psychology's two-hundredth birthday. What will the contemporary psychologist be saying about us today? What huge blindspot are we living through so opaquely that we do not question it at all? What assumptions are so much a part of our times that we do not even think about doubting them? An assumption that I would put in that category is the one that believes that psychology has finally arrived by becoming a natural science and all that is necessary is the conduct of "normal science" in Kuhn's sense. What if natural scientific psychology was only meant to be a transitional event, say, like patristic psychology or scholastic psychology. What would happen if psychology were to let go of this assumption and turn to another authority or context?

I am convinced that psychology as it has developed under the authority of natural science cannot essentially penetrate the phenomena that it seeks to understand—whether one defines psychology as the study of psyche, behavior, consciousness, experience or all of the above. I am not saying that a natural scientific psychology is not possible. Indeed, it would be absurd to try to deny what exists all around us. What I am saying is that if one sticks rigidly to the tenets of such a psychology, then one can only discern trivial or extraneous findings. Conversely, to the extent that mainstream psychology has had its successes it is because psychologists have either not adhered to the tenets or have implicitly gone beyond what a strict natural scientific psychology would dictate without being fully aware of it. In other words, psychology has been successful despite its adopted context, not because of it. It certainly makes sense to seek another context for psychology so that one's work would be facilitated rather than hampered or neutralized.

Scholarship demands that I present reasons why I think

mainstream psychology has not been as successful as it might appear. Most of the difficulties psychologists cite concerning the disciplinary status of psychology can be grouped under three headings: first, psychology lacks unity, (Royce, 1970; Cole & Arnold, 1976); Second, there is an irreconciliable split between the scientific and professional aspirations of the field, (Aanstoos, 1983; Committee on Scientific and Professional Aims of Psychology, 1967); and third, there is a discrepancy between psychology's commitment to be scientific and its ability to be faithful to either the givens of the human person or the characteristics of concrete phenomena (Maslow, 1962; Giorgi, 1970; Chein, 1972).

Complaints about the lack of unity in psychology persist and can be exemplified in terms of two problems: first, how to find a unified theoretical perspective concerning the whole field rather than the more narrowly based unities that currently exist (e.g. behaviorism, psychoanalysis, Gestalt theory, etc.); and second, how to establish meaningful relationships between various subfields (e.g. between psychotherapy and psychophysics or between physiological psychology and social psychology). These difficulties point to the lack of comprehensive perspective within psychology that could clarify its meaning in such a way that disparate fields of specialization and theoretical orientations could be meaningfully related without reducing one to another.

The relationship between theory and practice is not always smooth, but it is quite another thing when the practitioners of one subfield (clinical psychology) of a discipline criticize and judge as wholly inadequate the very training they receive from another subfield (academic psychology). Yet that is precisely what happened at the meeting of the Committee on Scientific and Professional Aims of psychology (1967). The "scientific-academic" members of the discipline maintain that psychology is a science and thus training programs should be based on a scientific perspective with a research orientation. Those on the professional side of the debate claim that the training programs are too narrowly conceived even for a scientific perspective, but also that a training program conceived strictly along the lines of science is not the best approach to prepare one for work in the everyday world. While the debate between "scientists" and "professionals" is often couched in terms of labels such as "basic vs. applied", "theory vs. practice" and other such distinctions, a closer analysis reveals that something deeper is operating. If it were simply a matter of "theo-

retical vs. applied" then one would expect to find the same difficulties between psychoanalytic theorists and practitioners, or between psychophysical researchers and human engineers. But in neither specialized area does such an incongruity exist. While there may be certain "tensions" between psychoanalytic theory and practice, persons on both sides of the issue can recognize a common problem and decide whether or not it is potentially solvable within the context which psychoanalysts want to function. The same is true of the relationship between basic research in psychophysics and its application in human engineering. All those involved readily acknowledge the difference between the freedom of the laboratory settings and the constraints imposed by everyday life and compromises are quickly reached.

What then is distinctive about the problem concerning the relationship between scientific and professional psychology? It is that the discrepancy between the scientific training and demands of the lifeworld situations where the professional clinician must work is so great that the training hardly seems relevant. Why is scientific training so irrelevant to clinical practice? Not because of the difference between theory and practice, but because the scientists have the freedom to structure experimental situations according to the dictates of their theories. These are usually formal, abstract and biased by the model of the natural sciences whereas clinicians have to meet humans and their problems as they find them and so require knowledge that is concrete, person-oriented, holistic and contextual. In brief, academic psychology is natural scientific in outlook whereas the demands of professional psychology require another "authority" or context.

This leads directly to the third and last category—which is whether psychology's commitment to be a natural science is such that it is able to adequately treat the phenomena of human reality. The great division in psychology's century long debate on this matter is between those who make a commitment to science *first* and then turn to their phenomena of interest armed with the criteria of science as filters, or those who make a primary commitment of fidelity to human phenomena and then try to find rigorous, scientific ways of interrogating them. Thus, it would seem that one has to be committed either to science or human phenomena. But why this dichotomy? Physics and chemistry do not have to choose between science and phenomena! They have the best of both worlds. Well, then, why can't psychology? My answer is that the

conception of science adopted by psychology is misleading us. For those who say that science means natural science, it is simply a matter of being inventive enough to adapt psychological phenomena to the categories of science and we have witnessed such attempts in this century—e.g. Watson, Hull, Skinner. For those psychologists like myself who wish to retain a sense of science but not the specific form practiced by the natural sciences, there is no ready-made alternative—only the challenge of bringing into evidence the guiding vision as we practice our psychology.

Let us now try to deal with these problems constructively. Since the difficulty is that psychology is following the wrong conception of science, our first step is to eliminate the natural scientific model of science for psychological scientific practice if for no other reason than human reality cannot be reduced to physical reality. Of course, this is still a negative step and some guidelines are still needed. At this juncture I turn to existential-phenomenological philosophy for help.

PHENOMENOLOGY

It should be realized that, despite some close historical connections, phenomenology as a philosophy is not specifically geared to help psychology with its problems. One has to make the relationship between them a special project and actively build bridges. Lack of sensitivity to this step has resulted in many errors and misinterpretations. Thus, before I can state how phenomenology can help psychology, I have to say a few words about phenomenology itself. Moreover, since phenomenology is so misunderstood, I will first briefly eliminate some popular misconceptions held by psychologists and then give a brief positive exposition of its meaning (For a more elaborate discussion, see Giorgi, 1983).

I shall correct eight major misconceptions of phenomenology: (1) Phenomenology is not a return to introspection because it deals with meanings rather than facts and it describes the world, not alleged "inner contents." (2) Phenomenology is not merely subjective but rather it wants to understand the objective in terms of the subjective acts in which the objective always appears and thus it is relational. (3) Phenomenology is not merely experiential, but tries to understand the world and its objects as they are experienced by individuals. (4) Phenomenology is not merely the study of individual cases, but it starts with concrete examples as the ba-

sis for the discovery of essential generality. (5) Phenomenology is not antiscientific, but a way of practicing a different kind of science. (6) Phenomenology is not speculative, but descriptive and reflective. (7) Phenomenology is not anti-data even though imaginative variation of descriptive data is employed. However, it always starts with concrete experience. (8) Phenomenology is not merely anti-traditional even though it differs from traditional psychology in certain respects. Rather, it is willing and able to dialogue with traditional psychology.

Phenomenology is the study of phenomena as experienced by conscious beings and it is a method for studying such phenomena. The term "phenomenon" means that whatever is given in experience is to be understood simply as it presents itself. No other attribute is to be assigned to the given except the meanings that derive explicitly from what is presented in the concrete experience. Phenomenology interrogates the phenomenal realm in order to discover its "logos" or the patterns and regularities that make experience intelligible. It then interprets the world of the experiencer in terms of the intelligible structures that are discovered. From a knowledge of such structures one can find clues for understanding problems and what to do about them.

The method used by phenomenology to arrive at these structures involves three features and one key assumption. First, it is descriptive—one is to describe as faithfully as possible what one experiences. Second, this description is to take place within the attitude of the phenomenological reduction—i.e. what is given is taken precisely as it appears and one refrains from saying that it is as it appears. Third, with the help of imaginative variation, one determines what is essential for such a phenomenon to make its appearance—i.e. one determines the invarient characteristics. One then describes again, this time thematically and reflectively, the intelligible structure that emerged from the analysis.

Nothing in the above procedure should offend a traditional psychologist since natural scientific psychology has at times utilized each of the above procedures explicitly or implicitly. To illustrate, all science admits some role for description and descriptions are included in the apparatus and procedure section of all experimental reports. Indeed, such descriptions are meant to be so objective and precise that anyone reading them ought to be able to replicate the experiment. Thus, the expectation is that descriptions can communicate precisely. The reduction to the phenomenal level

is frequently employed in psychology even if not acknowledged as such. For example, when a subject in an experiment says that the line of the Muller-Lyer illusion with arrowheads appears shorter, the experimenter knows differently but he records the answer as something that appears that way to the subject. Or take the example of a client who refuses to talk to his therapist in her office because he is sure that the place is bugged and that his wife is listening in. The therapist knows differently, but can accept that a client may be experiencing the situation that way. Both of those examples acknowledge the legitimacy of the phenomenal realm: certain situations or objects appear to be a certain way. The difference is that phenomenology tries to thematize and make more systematic the role of this kind of presence.

Even essential intuitions, in the phenomenological sense, are present in psychology. How does a psychologist know that one's sexual identity is important for understanding personality, or that number of items to be learned will increase learning time or that the complexity of a stimulus will make recognition more difficult? A phenomenologist would say that one intuits the necessity of the relationship. There are not dramatic insights, but they exemplify intutition into essential relations that phenomenology would try to systematize.

The one key assumption is that of intentionality. It means that consciousness is a "tendency towards" something; it is always directed to something that transcends it. I am pleased with my son, I am disappointed in my colleague, I hope the weather will improve, I perceive the ball in front of me—being pleased, being disappointed, hoping, perceiving are all conscious processes directed towards objects or states of affairs that are not in the conscious processes themselves but related to them. That is the essential idea of intentionality. It is this latter idea more than any other that introduces differences in how psychological subject matter is treated within mainstream psychology and human scientific psychology.

RELEVANCE OF PHENOMENOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE FOR PSYCHOLOGY

I shall speak of phenomenology's relevance for psychology by showing how a theoretical reconceptualization can help solve the three problems presented above. We can reformulate the three

problems as follows: (1) the conceptual issue relating to the meaning of psychology; (2) the scientific issue concerning the kind of science psychology is and (3) the praxis issue of how to overcome the dichotomy between scientists and professionals.

The Conceptual Issue: What is the Precise Meaning of Psychology?

The lack of unity in psychology means that we have not as yet understood the meaning of our subject matter in a conceptually adequate way. How can phenomenology improve the situation? Obviously, a totally satisfactory answer is still ahead of us but I would like to present three phenomenological emphases that at least have a sense of closing in on the problem.

The Lifeworld Emphasis. In phenomenological thought, a certain priority in the chronological sense belongs with the everyday world or what Husserl called the Lifeworld—that is, the world as it is lived. All science is derived from the everyday lived world, and to be relevant, ultimately, has to refer back to it. This means however, that if we truly want to start to develop a science with a minimum of hidden presuppositions then we should situate ourselves in the context of the lived world and with prescientific experience rather than immediately situating ourselves within the framework of science. In this way, all the moves necessary to go from everyday lived experience to scientific understanding can be described and evaluated. This is precisely where one begins as a consequence of turning away from natural scientific models and turning directly to the phenomena.

Gurwitsch, (1974 p. 139) gives us the phenomenological view of what is necessary for a science to come into being. He writes as follows.

> All sciences, without exception, originate in the lifeworld on the basis of the findings encountered in it. Furthermore, except those sciences which, like mathematics and logic, concern themselves thematically with pure idealities, the sciences find the subject matter of their study in the lifeworld; their purpose and sense are to provide a theoretical account for the lifeworld. More correctly expressed, each of the several sciences singles out and focuses on a certain segment of aspect of the lifeworld. However, those segments or aspects are not

given beforehand in neat demarcation from one another. Rather, their delimitation and, along with it, the very constitution of the several sciences, are the outcome of theoretical work guided by theoretical interests.

Thus, to found a science of psychology adequately, according to the phenomenological viewpoint, one must turn to the lifeworld with a theoretical interest, which itself stems from the lifeworld, and demarcate a group of phenomena unified in some way. But since these phenomena are not already neatly demarcated, the theoretical interest of the specific science must complement the phenomena. But how? Again, let us turn to the thought of Gurwitsch for some guidance. Gurwitsch (1974, p.29) writes about one of the aims of phenomenology in the following manner:

> [Phenomenology's] task consists in disengaging the logos of the perceptual world, the logicality which prevails in it. Of course, logicality as here meant must not be understood in the sense of fully conceptualized—still less formalized—logic, but rather, in the same sense in which Husserl understands the *a priori* and the categories of the perceptual world, namely determination as to style and type but absence of exactness. Since the logicality in question proves to be the germ from which logic in the proper and formal sense develops, it may be appropriately denoted as "protologic". In fact, the transition from protologic to logic proper (understood in the widest sense so as to include all mathematization, algebraization and formalization) requires specific idealizing operations, which of course, work on protological structures as underlying pregiven materials.

The above passage shows the priority of the lifeworld, and even more precisely, how a scientific attitude is rooted in prescientific experience. Of course, since we are interested in the constitution of the science of psychology rather than logic, we would describe the pre-scientific lifeworld experiences that motivate the establishment of a science of psychology as "protopsychological" rather than "protological." And just as logical phenomena are not merely given in the world, but must be constituted, so too do psychological phenomena have to be constituted rather than merely found "ready-made." This is what James (1890) called "the psy-

chologist's reality." It is this phase that psychology leaped over when it took the framework of the natural sciences as its guide. The appeal to phenomenology to help set psychology on an adequate base is the call to come back and perform this fundamental discernment of the protopsychological phenomena of the lifeworld and the theoretical achievements necessary to transform them into genuine phenomena.

What then are the kinds of events that we might term protopsychological? From my own experience I would say that psychological curiosity is sparked by the following kinds of concrete everyday events: Why does a stranger shoot and kill John Lennon, a man whom he obviously admires? Why does a man who has heart trouble and is advised by his doctor to keep a strict regimen continue to drink, overeat, smoke and keep late hours? Why does a student who by all objective standards is bright and gifted sit alone in his room and depressedly brood because he experiences himself a failure? Why does someone love Picasso and Mozart but hate Cezanne and Brahms? These are examples of concrete or protopsychological events that spontaneously precipitate psychological interest. But how can we describe the theoretical interest that will help us make more precise what is common to such diverse events? Let us begin with the traditional terms and say that we are interested in how people experience and behave in their world. Clearly, that is too broad, for all social sciences are interested in human behavior and experience. More specificity is needed. What is common to all the examples cited above is that the situations offer some opacity, some non-transparence. Something about them stands out, yet in non-obvious ways. Apparently when humans relate to the world, themselves or others in striking but non-obvious ways, psychological interest is aroused. But what kind of opacity is this? What is non-obvious? For example, suppose while walking along the street we see a man on all fours in front of his house intently looking at the ground. This is not the customary behavior in our culture so we are puzzled and stop to inquire about it. If we are told that he is looking for his house key, we simply nod and continue. If, however, we are told that he always does this for five minutes before entering a house in which he is to play cards because he feels that it brings good luck, we are hardly likely to appropriate that answer in the same way that we did the first. We get psychologically curious. While my illustration is purposely bizarre in order to make a point, one can

easily find an everyday counterpart in the case of superstitious athletes. But let's return to the example. What is the difference between the two answers? The first makes immediate sense; the second is baffling. Even if we try to imagine some "far out" relationship between the behavior and the intent, we still fail to see a connection. We could probably settle on something like "Well, he isn't hurting anyone and if he feels he can play better by doing that first, maybe he actually does." But we still do not know why doing that particular kind of thing should make him feel like he could do better; nor do we understand how something so changeable as a feeling can influence behavior. That is the kind of non-transparency I want to isolate as the theme of the psychological.

Even if we look at the traditional topics of psychology we can observe that they are either intrinsically non-transparent such as sensing, perceiving, dreaming, emoting, or else, when possibly clearer phenomena are the topics, such as logical thinking or focused attention, the psychological analyses involve the nontransparent aspects of them. In brief, psychology is right in emphasizing experience and behavior as subject matter, but they must be brought to better theoretical articulation. What helps to circumscribe the psychological is the fact that behavior and experience are opaque to a direct grasp of reason. This is what is common to all of the protopsychological events described previously and the theoretical interest that tries to demarcate the psychological is the thematization of the sense of the experiential or behavioral field of individuals as lived. Our examples have indicated that this sense is not strictly rational. It has a different "logos." Matters get complicated because while the psychological is contrasted to the rational, the latter is still necessary for the development of the science of psychology because it helps us differentiate the psychological from the total complex flux of lived events. Paraphrasing Merleau-Ponty we could say that the "proper object" of psychology is the relation of the lived to the known, or the relation of what is subjectively apprehended to what can be objectively determined. If one looks at the practice of psychology, rather than its explicit statements, one can see that this relationship has been implicitly respected if not always explicitly recognized. Briefly, it seems that in psychology we have employed three means of attaining thematic knowledge and the psychological is always understood in contrast to these thematizations: (1) physical description or measurement can serve as thematized knowledge and then the

sense of the psychological is established in relation to objective physicality (e.g. afterimages, illusions, figural aftereffects), (2) rationality or logic can serve as thematic knowledge and then the sense of the psychological is established in relation to logicality (e.g. Piaget's sensorimotor level of development, cognitive dissonance, problem solving behavior) and (3) intersubjective agreement or norms can serve as thematic knowledge and then the sense of the psychological is established in relation to a norm (e.g. neurotic patterns, I.Q.'s, personality tests). It seems as though the psychological is paraobjective, paraphysical, pararational or paranormative—but without the "kernel of known," the lived through might be even more difficult to understand than it is. In any event, it seems that the psychological is a coherently lived subjective transformation of a situation by individuals of what is thematically known by other means or by others. "Lived" implies experience and behavior. This is what the lifeworld emphasis has shown us.

The Structural Emphasis. I shall be briefer here, and fortunately I can be because of the labors of Merleau-Ponty. In the *Structure of Behavior*, Merleau-Ponty (1945/1963) presents many convincing analyses to show that the behaviors that psychology seeks to understand are neither things nor ideas. Consequently, knowledge based upon either of those two phenomena (roughly speaking, natural science and philosophy) will only have partial success in grasping the essence of behavior in thing-like or idea-like terms. Rather, Merleau-Ponty argues that a new kind of knowledge, involving new approaches, will be necessary to create an in-depth understanding of human behavior. For Merleau-Ponty, the appropriate concept for this phenomenon that has some "thing-like" characteristics and some "idea-like" features but is in reality neither thing nor idea is precisely *structure.* While this concept does have to be clarified further, the identification of behavior as a structure—i.e. as a network of relations between a subject and his world—converges well with the first analysis that indicated that new kinds of analyses were necessary to understand psychological reality because of their pararational character. In brief, structure is the concept that will help us probe the parathematic or the pararational.

The Phenomenal Emphasis. We have already mentioned that the phenomenological attitude requires one to go back to the level of the phenomenal—that is, regard everything that is given in ex-

perience precisely as it appears to consciousness. Now, if one were to ask what it is that beings enjoying psychological reality introduce above and beyond sheer life or "bios," I would have to say that it is a phenomenal world—however impoverished or inarticulate it may be. It would seem that "psyche" is present whenever a sufficient level of sentience, motility and affectivity are present in an organism so that a minimum of directedness and reflexiveness—i.e. the ability of the organism to form presentations about and relate to the environment, its own body and other organisms—manifests itself. What characterizes the phenomenal, and therefore the psychological, is the thematization of experience and behavior and this cannot be done without relating worlds and subjects. But it should be remembered that the phenomenal does not have the stability and solidity of the rational, the objective and normative.

In an especially trenchant passage here is how Merleau-Ponty (1945/1962, p.57) describes the phenomenal:

> "the phenomenal is the return to the world of actual experience which is prior to the objective world, since it is in it that we shall be able to grasp the theoretical basis no less than the limits of that objective world and to restore to things their concrete physiognomy, to organisms their individual ways of dealing with the world and to subjectivity its inherence in history. Our task will be moreover, to rediscover phenomena, the layer of living experience through which other people and things are first given to us, the system 'self-other-things' as it comes into being . . ."

The realm of the phenomenal is the realm of physiognomies, styles, concrete histories rather than that of objects, processes on objective time. It is the realm where psychology should dwell.

It should also be appreciated that the phenomenal does not enjoy the same status as the real, but it leads to the real. Thus, one could say that the phenomenal gives us presences rather than existences and when one looks at existence phenomenologically, one could speak of "presented existences" instead of sheer existence. Sometimes the "presences" seem to get detached and pass for existence (e.g. illusions, hallucinations) and at other times presences adhere to existence so well that they efface themselves and give us the existent in a perfectly adequate way (e.g. the ade-

quately perceived object, the accurately remembered event, etc.). In the latter case the presences are lived through but not thematized, but we should bear in mind that even the adequately perceived object and the accurately remembered event are not the object in itself and the event as such. Because the phenomenal lacks the density of the real, it can create a space in which the same object or state of affairs can be grasped in many ways. It is this full range of presencing that psychology is concerned with: how it is that sometimes presences detach themselves and become themes in their own right and can lead us astray, and at times they efface themselves and give us "presenced existences" adequately.

Let me attempt a brief recapitulation here. We've been concerned with how a phenomenological approach can be helpful to psychology and the first general point was that a conceptual breakthrough was necessary to solve the question of the meaning of psychology. Next we had to free ourselves of the requirements of natural scientific psychology. We then turned to phenomenological thought and elaborated three notions that we believed would be helpful for answering the conceptual issue: the idea of the primacy of the lived world over any scientific viewpoint and how the latter is a refinement of everyday perceptions; the idea of the primacy of structure over things or ideas; and finally an elaboration of the notion of the phenomenal in its essential role in understanding the proper object of psychology.

Before showing how these concepts can help us with our three problems, I want to indicate a little more precisely why I claimed before that natural scientific psychology cannot do justice to the phenomena we would want to call "psychological." We've been led to the phenomenal as the locus of psychological reality and this means that only subject-related entities can be considered correctly. Subjectivity is not an entity substantially existing in itself first and then relating to the world. Its very meaning is to be world-related and it cannot exist without this relationship. Therefore, a science of psychology has to take as its point of departure a subject already related to the world—a relation manifested by the paraobjective, pararational and paranormative subject-dependent presences that defined the phenomenal. If so, then we can understand one of the difficulties that psychology has been experiencing as a natural science—i.e. trying to make psychology an objective science like physics and chemistry. To seek the objective, to try to

force the paraobjective or the pararational into the categories of the objective or rational is precisely to miss the essence of the psychological because the psychological is the way in which individuals live with respect to the objective. Thus, psychology cannot be an objective science in the same sense as the natural sciences since its aim is to understand the phenomenal—experience and behavior as lived, not as objectified—and by definition the phenomenal is paraobjective. The psychological has to be understood in relation *to* the objective, not as a specification *of* the objective.

Does such an understanding help us speak to the question of the lack of unity in psychology? Let us see if this can help us with the question of unity by attempting to relate to subfields of psychology in a better way. First, some examples: in psychophysics a subject experiences as red what physicists describe as physical energy at 700mu; in a psychological testing situation a subject performs in such a way that he is evaluated as being two standard deviations above the performance of a group of presumably similar individuals; in a psychotherapeutic setting a client relates how he persists in trying to solve a problem in a fixed way and the therapist tries to bring the client to a position where he can see that there are other ways of behaving; a social psychologist tries to understand how a prisoner experiences his world—i.e. the social institution known as a prison, his cellmates, the particular physical setting in which he is housed. In each case the dimension that makes it possible to bring all of the above phenomena under the rubric of psychology is the coherent lived subjective patterning of the same situation by an individual subject. Thus, in principle, one could relate psychophysics to social psychology or psychotherapy to experimental research on attention. What obfuscates this possible relationship is the fact that we have not developed a consistent common language to describe the coherently lived subjective patterning despite the diversity of settings because a theoretically clarified sense of the psychological does not yet exist. At the moment the different subfields are too context dependent, too tied to their histories, and hence the key concepts from different subfields come from different universes of discourse. For example, in psychophysics concepts like threshold, stimulus, gradients, and energy level, are closely allied to physics and laboratory settings; in psychotherapy terms like pathology, neurosis, or therapy, are obviously allied to the medical model. Thus, an acute problem for psychology is the development of a consistent, common language, but

this assumes that we can first agree on what it is that is to be described. With this clarified thematization and a consistent language the subfields could be integrated.

But what about the fractionation into systems? Can something be done about that? Since the phenomenological framework we are introducing is more comprehensive than any of the significant contemporary theoretical perspectives, they too can be integrated. For example, phenomenologists affirm Gestalt theory's emphasis on the holistic nature of experience, its discovery of principles of phenomenal perceptual organization and its distinction between the geographic environment and the behavioral environment, but criticize Gestaltists for not pursuing the implications of these discoveries to their radical conclusion because they compromised their insights with an inadequate theory of science. Similarly, phenomenologists affirm psychoanalytic insights into pathological modes of behaving, the importance of dreams as an access to a troubled existence and the importance of the network of familiar relationships and its vicissitudes for psychological development, but note that to understand such phenomena one does not need the biological and energistic metapsychology that Freud used. Phenomenologists also affirm behaviorism's emphasis on behavior, the placing of man in a situation in the world where he is at least partially visible to others instead of limiting psychological studies to an encapsulated consciousness accessible to only one person, but dispute that the phenomenon of behavior is best understood only in terms of the spectator attitude and minimal categories that behaviorism uses. Lastly, phenomenologists affirm the recent re-emphasis on cognition that is appearing in mainstream psychology, but doubts that such an important phenomenon can really be grasped in terms of computer models. Thus, the phenomenological framework can go across the various systems precisely because it does *not* try to translate the concepts of one system into those of another but because of its more comprehensive perspective can see what the strength of each system is as well as what it leaves out. Thus unity and coherence in psychology is in principle achievable both theoretically and in terms of content area.

The Scientific Issue: What Kind of Science is Psychology?

If we grant that psychology is paraobjective, pararational and paranormative and that it deals with the phenomenal realm, are

we not making it impossible for it to be a science? A natural science, yes, but not necessarily a human science. It also belongs to the project of science that its methods and approaches respect the manner in which phenomena of the world present themselves. One does not try to build an electrical circuit with stones; nor does one try to crush electricity. Each procedure would be incongruous with the way stones and electricity manifest themselves in the world.

Well, then, how do behavior, experience, psyche, consciousness—whichever term one prefers—manifest themselves in everyday life? Does behavior present itself just like a thing? Maybe a corpse does—but not behavior. Does experience present itself just like an idea or concept—say justice or angle? No, not quite. As Merleau-Ponty said, because of embodiment, these phenomena seem to share characteristics with things, but a strict thing-like approach falls short. They also seem to share certain idea-like characteristics—a certain invisibility—but a strict ideal approach also misses. Thus, the first task of a science of human phenomena would be to circumscribe its phenomena—the descriptive task—and then try to find a way of going beyond the concrete descriptions to provide some sort of stable knowledge. Phenomenology suggests eidetic intuitions and essential structures as a way of achieving this aim.

What science demands is some stability of our knowledge and that it be accessible to many. Does the phenomenal realm offer us such possibilities? Let us take the example of illusions—say the Muller-Lyer illusion. If it were merely idiographic we could never say anything about it. But it does present us with consistent findings for many subjects over time. For example, the lines with tips extending out always look longer than the lines with arrowheads on the tips. This is clearly a phenomenal datum, yet remarkably consistent, and indeed, if it were not so, we could not speak of the illusion at all. What a science of the phenomenal would do is determine, clarify and interrelate all such consistencies first as purely phenomenal givens and then in relation to objective, rational and normative data as well. In brief, a science which can speak with a certain degree of reliability and validity about phenomena as subjectively experienced is possible because the meanings lived by subjects with respect to those phenomena can be expressed linguistically and behaviorally.

The Praxis Issue: Overcoming the Scientist-Professional Dichotomy

What about the academic-professional dichotomy? Can this conception of psychology help make this relationship, if not perfect, at least no worse than the way the relationship between theory and practice is lived out in other disciplines? I think it can, and that's because the vision of science endorsed encourages a different style of research. When the goal is to understand subjectively lived phenomena then a knowledge of the meanings experienced by such subjects becomes far more relevant than indirect measurement procedures. Thus, while quantification is not excluded in principle, most of the research proceeds descriptively and qualitatively because such procedures give a more direct access to the meanings of subjective phenomena. Assuming that one could accept the theoretical argument that justifies such a perspective and one agrees that the procedures followed do yield valuable data then I think that the academic-professional dichotomy can be overcome. In other words, to seek the meaning of an experience is to seek a different sort of data and a different kind of understanding. Thus to seek the structure of an experience yields different findings. Examples of research done at Duquesne University indicate how perception is sometimes a prominent experience and at other times submerged and in the service of another psychological modality (Wertz, 1982), or how humans when thinking during a game of chess take into account the end game implied by their strategy during the middle game in a way that computer simulation models cannot do (Aanstoos, 1982/1983). Descriptive qualitative research also shows how learning often involves the inappropriate carryover of assumptions from one situation to another (Giorgi, in press) and that the difference between experiencing debilitating test anxiety and facilitating anxiety is the difference between moving from a moment of doubt concerning an item of knowledge to doubt about one's future as opposed to moving from a moment of doubt to another question that one can answer (Stone, 1982). These are all findings from empirically-based phenomenological psychological research. Now when I discuss these findings with my clinical and industrial colleagues, they immediately become interested and want to know more—indeed more than I can give them. The reason is that the results are couched in terms that the practitioners can relate to, not because

an explicit attempt to do so was made, but because the style of research itself did not transform the psychological aspects being studied into an alien perspective. Rather, this style of research thematizes how thinking, perceiving, learning, anxiety, etc., are *lived*, and usually those are the dimensions of situations that practitioners encounter in their work. Thus the relevance of the research is not problematic even if it is not quite "ready-to-hand." The professionals would know how to take such findings and extend their implications to their own work. The alleged academic-professional dichotomy is reduced to normal tensions between two different psychological roles.

SUMMARY

I have been less interested here in critiquing the "status quo" than in presenting a constructive alternative for psychology. I think that the phenomenological approach presented does concretely manifest the possibility of a unified and coherent psychology. What is required is that psychology's proper object be circumscribed in a comprehensive but precise way; that a method of access to that proper object be delineated; and that the method yield findings with a certain degree of stability and intersubjectivity. But we, as psychologists, cannot borrow ready made solutions to our problems because no other science has our unique "proper object" as its theme. We have gained independence by imitating the natural sciences, but it is time that we gained authenticity by clarifying our sense and our mission to society.

REFERENCES

Aanstoos, C. (1983). *A phenomenological study of thinking as it is exemplified during chess playing* (Doctoral dissertation, Duquesne University, 1982). *Dissertation Abstracts International, 43,* 2726B.

Aanstoos, C. (1983). *On the relation of psychological theory and praxis.* Paper presented at the meeting of the Southeastern Psychological Association, Atlanta.

Chein, I. (1972). *The science of behavior and the image of man.* New York: Basic Books.

Cole, J. & Arnold, W. (Eds.). (1976). *Nebraska symposium on motivation: Vol 23. Conceptual foundations of psychology*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Committee on Scientific and Professional Aims of Psychology. (1967). The scientific and professional aims of psychology. *American Psychologist, 12,* 671-684.

Giorgi, A. (1970). *Psychology as a human science.* New York: Harper & Row.

Giorgi, A. (1983). Concerning the possibility of phenomenological psychological research. *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology, 14,* 129-169.

Giorgi, A. (in press). Phenomenological psychological research and the verbal learning tradition. In Giorgi, A. (Ed.)., *Phenomenology and psychological research*. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press.

Gurwitsch, A. (1974). *Phenomenology and the theory of science*. Evanston, Ill: Northwestern University Press.

James, W. (1890). *The principles of psychology*. New York: Dover Press.

Maslow, A. (1962). *Toward a psychology of being*. Princeton: van Nostrand.

Merleau-Ponty, M. (1962). *Phenomenology of perception*. (Trans. by C. Smith). New York: Humanities. (Original work published 1945)

Merleau-Ponty, M. (1963) *The structure of behavior* (Trans. by A. Fisher). Boston: Beacon Press. (Original work published 1942)

Robinson, D. (1981). *An intellectual history of psychology* (2nd ed.). New York: Macmillan.

Royce, J. (Ed.). (1970). *Toward unification in psychology*. Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press.

Stone, J. (1982). *An existential phenomenological examination of test anxiety*. Unpublished manuscript, Duquesne University, Pittsburgh.

Wertz, F. (1982). *Dialog with the new look: An historical critique and descriptive approach to everyday perceptual process* (Doctoral dissertation, Duquesne University, 1982). *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 43, 284B.

PROCEDURES IN PHENOMENOLOGICAL RESEARCH AND THE QUESTION OF VALIDITY

Frederick J. Wertz*

While phenomenological psychologists have been engaging in research for some time, only recently have their operative procedures come under systematic scrutiny in the literature. The fact that most published writings have limited themselves to accounts of specific procedures in particular research projects may reflect that phenomenologists, true to their approach, allow concrete problems rather than general doctrine to dictate their procedures. Yet inasmuch as we have entered the phase of normal science, as defined by Kuhn (1962), general procedural norms have been operating and thought regarding them is well ahead of publication. Although this gap in the literature may be desirable at this time inasmuch as the lack of premature foreclosure allows the creative development of diverse procedures, I have attempted to discuss the constituents of descriptive psychological reflection (Wertz 1983a and 1983b) and offer more overarching considerations here to evoke thought and dialog in an area too difficult to receive final resolution now. In the way of a quasi-historical introduction to phenomenologically oriented psychological research, we will first briefly review three approaches which have been articulated: the Comprehensive Theoretical, the Phenomenal, and the Reflective Empirical. We will then focus on Reflective Empirical Research in order to differentiate its general moments and mention some of its typical variations. Finally in our discussion of each constituent of this research we will pose and begin to address the question of validity — the relation of the researcher to the truth.

THREE APPROACHES

Comprehensive Theoretical Research

This approach was developed in dissertation research under the direction of van Kaam and is also exemplified by the excellent

* Department of Psychology, Hunter College of the City University of New York, 695 Park Ave., New York, New York 10021

work of W. Fischer (1970) on anxiety and Barton (1974) on psychotherapy. The context for this research is a fragmented, confused field of psychology containing unresolved disagreements regarding the phenomenon of interest. The Comprehensive Theoretical Researcher is satisfied neither with any one alternative perspective nor with a multiplicity of fragmented perspectives. Therefore, the purpose of her work is to achieve a more embracing theoretical framework which integrates and surpasses each of the disparate existing theories so as to fully comprehend the phenomenon under consideration. It is existential-phenomenological philosophical anthropology which, thanks to its open descriptive perspective on the lived world, leads the researcher to recognize the partial truths of other theories as well as their limits and distortions on the way toward their relative integration.

This research involves a dialectic with three constituents: psychological theories, lived world descriptions, and phenomenologically informed reflections. Each constituent is transformed through its dialog with the other two. The contradictory psychological theories are disclosed with regard to their constricting and erroneous assumptions and their partial truth in light of the lived world and its more faithful philosophical framework. Philosophical phenomenology becomes phenomenological psychology in its application to psychological theories and their lived world referents. The major shortcoming of this approach lies in the relatively informal role of the lived world. Procedures for the appropriation of lived meanings are not developed in their own right. Researchers utilize examples of the phenomena from their own pasts, their imaginations, observations of others, and dialog with others (including literary authors), but a systematic cultivation of the empirical plane is lacking.

Phenomenal Research

The term is taken from "Phenomenal Study" by Colaizzi (1973), who views it as based on van Kaam's (1959) classic research on "really feeling understood" and exemplified in that of Colaizzi (1967) and Maloni (1967). It is to traditional psychology's empirical methodology what comprehensive theorizing is to traditional theories. Phenomenal Research is an attempt to abstain from *any* preconceptions or hypothetical ideas and instead secure knowledge based solely on empirical expressions of the phe-

nomenon. For instance, subjects may be asked to write descriptions of situations in which they lived through the phenomenon under study. Once descriptions (which in principle could be of any origin) are obtained, four operations are performed: irrelevant specificities are discarded; repetitions are removed; statements are categorized and made succinct for communication purposes; and components are arranged in an intelligible order with equal weight given to each. All this work is done on the basis of *explicit* statements in the description, which themselves define the constituents of the phenomenon. Results may remain at an idiographic level or be used to formulate general findings. In either case, results represent the full array of reported constituents of the phenomenon with no additions, subtractions, or judgments of relative importance by the researcher.

The value of this approach is its surpassing the rigidly restrictive empirical methods of quantitative psychology on one hand and the informality of empirical work in comprehensive theorizing on the other. Its limitations stem from its excessive restrictions on the researcher's presence which are virtually impossible to live by. As Colaizzi (1973) points out, its supposition of abstention from researcher involvement is a self-misunderstanding, for even the Phenomenal Researcher reflectively judges constituents in distinguishing relevant components and placing them in an intelligible order. To the extent that the researcher abstains from her own sense-making, the results appear sterile and are therefore far from faithful to the phenomenon. Contradictions and ambiguities present in mere lists of constituents remain unresolved. For instance, in a given learning situation, one of the "affective components" may be "hated the task" and another "loved the task" without any reference to the implicit attitude change in the learning process. The phenomenal researcher has no procedure for thoughtfully relating constituents, disclosing their implicit meanings, or evaluating the relative importance or essentiality of the constituents. Moreover, the researcher's naivete extends to the point that she uncritically accepts whatever the subject describes as the phenomenon she wishes to study without any means for psychologically distinguishing it from other phenomena and judging a given description as falling outside of her research interest.

Reflective Empirical Research

The first two approaches free the researcher from traditional theories and methods, delivering her to a fuller expression of the lived world with all its complexity and ambiguity. The context of the Reflective Empirical Research is precisely the region set before us by Phenomenal Research, but it goes beyond the latter by explicitly utilizing the researcher's powers of reflection on the data. Examples include Giorgi (1975), Buckley (1975), C. Fischer (1971), Von Eckartsberg (1971), Colaizzi (1973), W. Fischer (1974), Wertz (1982) and Aanstoos (1983). This research is empirical in the sense that it is based on the data of immediate, pretheoretical experience. However, rather than resting with a mere list of reported components of a description, Empirical Reflective Research attempts to disclose their *meaning*, including their implicit dimensions, relations, and relative importance with the essential structure of the phenomenon. For instance, rather than merely listing "focal awareness of the body" as a part of the learning experience, Colaizzi (1973) discloses the disruptive meaning of this constituent, i.e., its interference with the learning process as a whole, for which unself-conscious participation is essential. There is no question here of imposing meaning, for reflection is not speculation but genuine *finding,* requiring the most rigorous grasp of the essence of the phenomenon. The researcher thereby grasps the whole of the phenomenon *through the part* expressed by the subject, making explicit the implicit root of the matter. On the basis of such reflection, Colaizzi (1973) concludes that what subjects described (and what some psychologists unreflectively take to be learning) was not learning but rather only the accumulation of information. In this way the reflective researcher surpasses the naivete of the subjects' explicit statements (as well as the equally naive contentions of some psychologists).

REFLECTIVE EMPIRICAL PROCEDURES

In the following differentiation of procedures, we have tried to focus on some essential moments of research. They are not proposed as steps that must be precisely followed and accounted for in order to achieve scientific status. Likewise, our examination of validity is not intended as the check-list for a fascistic regime within the phenomenological scientific community. It is an attempt to address the question of how we are moving toward the

truth and what our own internal criteria are.

Identification of the Phenomenon

Whether the research is motivated primarily by a theoretical/conceptual problem, a practical problem and/or a personal encounter, the first moment of research is a preliminary identification of the phenomenon in light of the research interest. This is the researcher's entry point into the research process which delivers her to a circumscribed area of existence in which psychological significance (and utility) comes to pass. This area may involve something everyone lives through like "birth" and "learning" or something more specialized like "the physician's diagnostic attitude" or "Asch's experiment on conformity," but it must be clearly *nameable* and *describable.*

More specifically, the starting point for research is a discrepancy between the phenomenon itself and what is already known about it, a discrepancy between human and scientific realities. The researcher often proceeds in this phase by conducting a dialog between prescientific observations of the phenomenon and the knowledge expressed in the psychological literature. The latter is criticized on the ground of the former so that the discrepancy between the lived and the known is articulated. Unknown regions of phenomena appear, vaguely or clearly, on the background of the limits of knowledge. This identification of the phenomenon already begins to shape the formulation of research problems and the design of the research.

Strategies at this stage are various, as are the extent of rigor and explicitness with which the phenomenon is identified. Research may begin with a relatively open and undiscriminating presence and postpone careful eidetic analysis until later. For instance, to study fear it may be considered enough to note two opposed theories, and judge the word "fear" as adequately evocative of the phenomenon to which these theories refer without making any judgments yet as to what is involved in it. Without any greater commitment, on might proceed to ask thirty people to "describe a situation in which they were fearful." On the other hand, one may use individual phenomenological reflection, imaginal variation, participant observation, group dialog, or a series of pilot studies employing several types of subjects, situations, modes of data collection, and extensive structural analyses to bring the mat-

ter of concern before the researcher's gaze. At the very least, the phenomenon must be well enough identified for one to know where to look for it.

It is at this stage of research that the question of validity is apparently least applicable since there are no final assertions of truth, but deeper consideration reveals the necessity of posing it. First, we can question the validity of the researcher's interest at the most general level: is the interest truly *psychological*? We would say briefly that any interest in personal participation in the immanent meanings of lived situations is genuinely psychological. Secondly, there is the possibility that the researcher does not achieve an adequate grasp on the *specific identity of her phenomenon*. Husserl (1977) has pointed out the danger of empirical psychology's lack of a proper eidetic foundation, without which subsequent methodological procedures, however sophisticated, may be inappropriate and worthless. In experimental psychology, for operational definitions to adequately realize the hypothesized variables in a concrete experimental situation, there must be a valid fore-understanding of what the phenomenon is (i.e. its essential constituents) and what it is not (e.g. extraneous variables). Critical analysis can reveal fundamental problems in this fore-understanding. Colaizzi's (1973) reflection on learning shows that it is not realized in many experimental studies purportedly about learning and Neisser (1976) accuses perceptual experimentation of failing to include essential constituents of perceptual phenomena. The same problem can occur in qualitative research. One researcher who set out to study decision making chose to investigate it in the context of the "decision" to have an abortion only to be informed after extensive analyses of protocols that decision involves a consideration of different alternatives, whereas the subjects never seriously thought about having the baby.

The researcher, therefore, is in an apparently paradoxical position of having to understand her phenomenon prior to carrying out her research. Fortunately the situation is not black and white with the researcher in the dark. Rather she is entering a hermeneutic spiral which has preceded her and is further enlightenable. Reflection on the psychological literature and the lived world itself, with priority going to the latter, is the means for identifying the phenomenon. This does not involve final commitments to empirical procedures nor a final explicitation of the phenomenon, which only occur in the next phases of research.

Manifestation of the Phenomenon

Based on the preliminary identification of the phenomenon, the researcher extends her selective powers to a bestowal of privilege on certain subjects, situations, and descriptions in manifesting the phenomenon for research. While this inevitably involves a movement away from the lived world's fullness and multiple manifestations of the phenomenon and the imposition of limits on the researcher's perspective, an implicit wisdom attempts to preserve the phenomenon within its lived world context(s). Even though the phenomenon "shows itself from itself," it does so in answer to the researcher's choices.

The diversity of subjects, situations, and data utilized testifies to the lack of *a priori* procedures; however, general principles can be detected in these choices. The telos of this phase is a disciplined naivete, a critical openness which makes unknown features of the phenomenon available for research. A dialectical movement occurs in which the research interests, the eidetic sense of the phenomenon, and the possibilities of its manifestation in the lived world co-determine the subjects, situations, and data which will be most valuable for the research. This process may be relatively easy, for instance when the researcher is interested in extending knowledge of a traditional experiment, for she may replicate it directly with a "twist" or modification (e.g. collect more non-verbal data) so that hitherto hidden dimensions may be analyzed. On the other hand the researcher may turn to the largely unstudied lived world in its various possibilities and originate her own procedures. Manifold research interests, for instance the goal of personal or cultural emancipation, play as great a role as the phenomenon itself in the development of strategies.

Subjects. The researcher utilizes some subjects rather than others for manifesting the phenomenon. She must determine *who* and *how many*. Choices of subjects vary and may include: the researcher, one other person, or a diversity of people of different ages, genders, socioeconomic and religious orientations, etc. It is possible to use literary authors or even fictional characters themselves as subjects. In general, the researcher considers the diversity of subjects in the lived world in relation to her phenomenon in light of her interest and makes her choice by discerning the reference of the latter to the former. The most basic, minimal criterion for the choice is whether a potential subject has or can develop

some illuminating relation to the phenomenon under study. It is sometimes said that "highly verbal" subjects are desirable when verbal data is given a privilege, but it must not be assumed that the language of "less articulate" individuals does not precisely express their own style of experiencing lived reality. Besides, even (and sometimes especially) highly verbal people are far from the heart of their preverbal experience in their talk. Also emancipatory praxic interests of the researcher may lead her to choose subjects who have not spontaneously elaborated their experience.

Next the researcher considers their specific way of relating to (e.g., living through, avoiding, or being incapable of) the phenomenon. For instance, Aanstoos (1983) had committed himself to studying thinking in the context of chess playing, so he chose subjects who knew the rules of chess. He then utilized standard ratings of chess players to select subjects manifesting diverse levels of expertise and to match them well. Crucial in the research interest are its intended applicability and generality. Anticipating the fruits of comparative reflections, precisely those dimensions that the researcher wishes to compare may be the criteria for subject choice. We find an extreme example in Alapack's (1972) study of the natural athlete, for which he chose not only professional athletes from different sports but people who are not athletically gifted so as to discern the phenomenon in contrast to its absence.

Criteria for the number of subjects are also easy to specify in general but require difficult reflection in individual projects. The researcher uses the number of subjects necessary to manifest the various aspects of the whole phenomenon (each individual discloses a given aspect with greater or less salience) and the variations of the phenomenon critical for achieving the aimed-at generality (a given subject discloses an idiosyncratic and perhaps typical variation). Praxic aims also enter in; for instance, a single person or small group may best facilitate a desired existential or political transformation. Besides her interests, the researcher has the literature and previous identification of the phenomenon in the lived world on which to base her decision. It is also possible to use pilot analyses of subject variability in arriving at a decision or to postpone the final decision until the analysis achieves a stable articulation of the phenomenon's constituents and variations that remains unchanged by the addition of new subjects.

The question of validity of subject selection has to do both

with the veridical manifestation of examples (and counter-examples) of the phenomenon and with the generality of the sampling (being roughly analogous to internal and external validity in experimentation). The question of whether a given subject reveals the phenomenon can only be answered on the basis of a rigorous fore-understanding of the phenomenon and an analysis of the case. The generality of the subject population is more difficult to assess, for without an empirical basis for comparison the researcher is left with her imagination of possible subjects beyond the actual population. Stevick (1971), who used adolescent girls to study anger, has been accused of findings typical of these subjects but no more general. We will discuss the procedures of reflection necessary to guide and assess the choice of subjects in the "analysis" section.

Situation. The researcher must choose or devise situations (including tasks) wherein the phenomenon will best manifest its full structure and lend itself to data generation and analysis. These may be arrived at either by the researcher, subjects themselves, or in a dialog between the two. The researcher exerts her presence most strongly when she constructs the situation in which subjects participate for research, as is the case when an experiment is studied. Aanstoos (1983), in setting up chess matches, partially constructs the research situation, and we (Wertz, 1982) chose and assigned a naturally existing situation—a supermarket—to study food perception. The researcher may also allow the subject to choose the situation in response to a general, open-ended request like "describe a situation in which you learned something" (Giorgi, 1975). The researcher may also enter with subjects into a dialog (individually or in a group) where many situations, often of relevance not anticipated by either researcher or subject, are explored (Alapack, 1972). Situations may be chosen from the subject's past or the subject may be invited to enter a situation in the course of research.

Aside from ethical considerations, methodological criteria for selection are the extents to which situations provide a context for the manifestation of the phenomenon, fulfill special requirements of the research interest (e.g. generality and practicality), and prove accessible to the preferred mode of data generation. In our research on perception (Wertz, 1982), each subject provided data on four situations—supermarket shopping, browsing in a newspaper/pornography store (both determined by the researcher), a sit-

uation the subject liked being in, and a situation the subject disliked being in (both chosen by the subject). The diversity allowed many different types of perception to be studied; the commonality of the two situations for all subjects allowed comparisons of different perceptions for the same place. The subject-chosen situations manifested a required embeddedness in subjects' ongoing biographies; the common situations allowed both simultaneous verbal reports and behavioral descriptions to be generated.

The question of validity in this case is virtually the same as with the choice of subjects: do research situations manifest the phenomenon and allow the researcher to pursue all her interests (including the desired level of generality)? Validity is again achieved and assessed by relating the preliminary identification of the constituents and variations of the phenomenon to preliminary reflective analyses of lifeworld situations.

Data. The data used are descriptions, ultimately verbal. They may refer to many different matters in the research situation (e.g. things, other people, the subject's goals, past, behavior, physiology) and may be generated from different points of view (e.g. simultaneously and/or retrospectively, the subject's own and/or others'). The following are strategies that have been used to elicit descriptive data: questionnaires in the forms of both open-ended questions (e.g. "describe a situation in which you were angry") and several specific questions (e.g. "were you aware of your body in the learning process?"), interviews based on questionnaire responses, spontaneous dialog or group discussion, a collaborative statement written by both subject and researcher, reports of nonverbal behavior or physiology, and journals. The researcher may also use descriptions already available, for instance literary, biographical, philosophical, and scientific texts.

The procedure of data generation is a selective process whereby the researcher attempts to make manifest those aspects of the situation which are relevant to the research interest and faithfully express the pre-scientific matters under investigation. What is appropriate data depends on the phenomenon under consideration: whereas verbal "think aloud" data is crucial to Aanstoos' (1983) study of thinking, behavioral data is primary to Levi's (1978) study of intercorporeality, and physiological data is crucial to Boss' (1963) study of psychosomatic pathology. Though the most revelatory data is often implied in the research interest and preliminary identification of the phenomenon, its ultimate

value and limits are often disclosed only in the analysis and practical applications. In our study of perception (Wertz, 1982), our preliminary identification of its close interrelatedness with behavior led us to generate behavioral descriptions of the subjects from the viewpoint of another (the researcher) as well as first person descriptions of the situations by subjects. While the other's description often disclosed revelatory behaviors omitted by subjects, the latter transcended the limits of the former particularly in revealing the presentational qualities of the precept. Interviews were then used to elaborate the two descriptions relative to each other in such a way as to resolve ambiguities and contradictions posed by their divergences.

At one level the question of validity parallels that concerning the measuring instrument in quantitative research, that is whether it actually measures the hypothesized variable. In the case of qualitative research, the question is whether the description expresses the truth and whole truth of the situation as it is preverbally lived by the subject. In order to avoid the "psychologist's fallacy," it is clear that description must not be derived from any theory or conceptual explanation on the part of the describer but must refer directly to what was originally lived (Giorgi, 1983).

Two specific questions of validity pertain to the use of verbal data and the involvement of the researcher in data generation. Even behavioral and physiological observations (whether made directly or with audio-visual aids) are verbally reported. Here as well as in first person descriptions, omissions, concealments and deceptions (whether deliberate, naive, or "unconsciously motivated") call to question the *a priori* validity of verbal expressions. But their more than occasional veridical (not to mention practically useful) disclosures (e.g. of omissions, concealments and deceptions themselves) rule out their *a priori* invalidity. The researcher's use of descriptions is not based on a naive acceptance of verbal data *per se*. Rather she is forced to reflect rigorously on the particular problems each research project poses for verbalization in order to actualize the potential validity of verbal description. The same is generally true of the role of the researcher whose presence, for example in observations and interviews, can be responsible for omissions and even fabrications which are mistaken as valid data. The researcher's role, which is also potentially on the side of valid data, must therefore be reflected upon in her

manner of treating subjects, posing questions, observing, and dialoging so that threats to valid description are eliminated. Strategies such as a non-directive interview style are often devised to preclude the generation of researcher-biased data and to maximize the researcher's evocation of a valid description of the phenomenon.

The Analysis of the Phenomenon

The overarching telos of the analysis phase is the *psychological findings*. Though we use the word "analysis," we do not mean any sort of objectifying reduction into static elements but rather the explicitation of the dynamically flowing phenomenon. This phase takes up the fruits of the previous procedures (the naive descriptions) and performs a series of operations of two types: handling and sense-making.

Handling. Since there are often several descriptions of each research situation (e.g. subjects' own, others' and interviews) and each description may be long and complex, the data must often be grouped and integrated. Interviews may be transcribed, and answers by different subjects to the same question may be placed together. What is done depends of course on the kind of data collected and the kind of analysis required. The groupings may be different for a researcher interested in preserving the integrity of each individual's experience from one interested in comparative findings across individuals according to distinct themes; it all depends on her aims and the demands of the phenomenon. Several operations appear to be somewhat general in applicability and do require reflections as they are performed, though they may be enacted highly implicitly.

1. Reading (or listening to) the data openly.
2. Demarcating (more implicitly, this may involve merely noting) changes in meaning and specifying constituent unities of meaning.
3. Eliminating irrelevant repetition.
4. Discarding description not revelatory of the phenomenon (i.e., irrelevant description).
5. Naming the theme of each constituent meaning.
6. Placing descriptive material pertaining to the same theme together.

7. Ordering material in the manner that best expresses the situation as lived, including contradictions and ambiguities.

The products of these operations are succinct, orderly descriptions made out of the original expressions of their authors (the researcher's additions, deletions, and transformations being limited to trivial grammatical changes). These procedures aim at helping the researcher center directly on the phenomenon *as put by her describers*.

The question of validity here has to do with the extent to which the researcher actualizes the potential of her data for expressing the original organization of her phenomenon. It is quite possible that different ways of performing each of the operations of this phase are equally valid, but there is also in each operation the possibility of relative invalidity. For instance, a researcher may eliminate the redundancy of an expression regarding a certain meaning and fail to realize that its repetition expresses an important emphasis crucial to understanding the original situation. Or a statement from the interview which on the surface appears to be unconnected with the phenomenon may be discarded as irrelevant when upon deeper reflection its revelatory character demands retention. It is also possible that what is actually a meaning that occurs later in hindsight is placed back in the original situation, incorrectly implying it occurred then. Rigorous reflection on each operation is the means of guarding against, detecting, and remedying failures of these sorts. It is quite possible that the researcher discovers an ambiguity in the data which cannot be adequately resolved and must return to the data collection phase to generate the data required for a completely satisfactory manifestation of the original phenomenon.

Sense making. The next telos is psychological significance, based on *structural understanding.* This phase is an open dialectic between the researcher's explicit psychological reflection and the "naive" (i.e. prescientific) description, in which their mutual implications for each other yield an original comprehension of the phenomenon. In this process, original comprehensions are grasped in their dialog with the fresh empirics of description. We will delineate first the general stance of the researcher in this phase, then the active operations of empirical reflection on the individual example of the phenomenon, and finally the operations used to

achieve generality in understanding.

The overall outlook of the researcher has been characterized variously as openness (Giorgi, 1970), wonder (Fink, 1933), and love (Laing, 1964). Most importantly, it begins with a bracketing or suspending of preconceptions and a fresh immersement in the lived reality to which the description refers. This procedure is unlike any kind of hypothesis checking or deductive logic. More specifically, it involves the following:

1. *Empathic presence to the described situation.* The researcher uses the description to enter and immerse herself in the situation just as it was lived by her subject.
2. *Slowing down and patiently dwelling.* The researcher spends time lingering in the described situation.
3. *Magnification, amplification of details.* The researcher allows each detail of the situation to be fully contacted, to loom large for her consideration.
4. *Turning from objects to immanent meanings.* The researcher attunes herself particularly to the meaning of objects and events as they are lived by the subject.
5. *Suspending belief and employing intense interest.* The researcher extricates herself from the straightforward, naive absorption in and commitment to the veridicality of intended meanings and becomes interested in their genesis, relations and overall structure.

As the researcher encounters an individual instance of the phenomenon through her contact with the description, there are several alternative operations which she may utilize to achieve a psychological comprehension of the essence of the individual case.

1. *Recognition and utilization of an "existential baseline."* The contours and limits of the phenomenon under analysis are distinguished from its "before" and "after" as well as other situations in which it is not strikingly manifest.
2. *Distinguishing constituents.* Different aspects or moments of the psychological life of the total phenomenon composing its complex structure are differentiated.
3. *Reflection on judgment of relevance.* The previous judgement that descriptive material is relevant for research is reflected on in order to explicate implicit crite-

ria and what about the descriptive material meets those criteria.

4. *Grasping implicit meanings.* The researcher goes beyond what the description includes explicitly in order to bring into comprehension aspects of the situation which are implied rather than stated in the description, including those omitted and concealed.

5. *Relating constituents.* Ideally, each aspect of the psychological life in the situation is considered as to its relation with every other one.

6. *Imaginative variation.* The researcher imaginatively varies all constituents, implicit horizons, relations, and themes composing the phenomenon in order to distinguish the essential from inessential features of the psychology of the individual phenomenon.

7. *Conceptually guided interrogation.* The researcher may reflect on the situation according to previously articulated concepts and questions so that they may illuminate, be modified by, or be negated by the empirical individual case described.

8. *Psychological languaging.* All insights arising in this phase are languaged in the manner which best describes the psychology of the instance, whether this be traditional psychological, philosophical, everyday, or originally poetic/metaphoric language.

The researcher often also attempts to achieve general insights, ones referring to more than one empirical instance of the phenomenon. Depending on the researcher's interest, such an attempt may address any number of individuals from "two" to "all possible." All of the above operations are of continued use, but they are integrated within further interdependent explicitation procedures peculiarly required for the explicit achievement of general psychological insights:

1. *Finding general insights in individual reflections.* Since general features of the phenomenon are included in individual cases, the researcher may interrogate a single individual structure and find immanent generality.

2. *Comparing previously analyzed individuals.* In comparing individual psychological structures of her phenomenon, the researcher discards divergences and retains

covergences in her considerations of generality.

3. *Generation and imaginative variation of new instances.* In order to extend general insights beyond the previously analyzed individuals, the researcher personally recollects and fancies new examples and counterexamples of the phenomenon to more incisively delineate the essential constituents and boundaries of her specified level of generality.

4. *Explicit formulation of generality.* The researcher formulates her general knowledge of the phenomenon in a language which describes the specified diversity of instances included in the general class under consideration, whether it be a specific group, general type, or universality.

The presentation of the findings of this phase may vary greatly according to the researcher's interests and style. It often includes examples from the "naive" descriptions which illustrate the psychological formulations.

The question of the validity of these formulations is not an easy one. First, it must be said that truth here partly presupposes the validity of previous phases of research (but it also serves dialectically to check their very validity through reflection). The enactment of each sense-making operation admits of both valid variations as well as lacks and errors that engender invalidity. The validity of psychological formulations of all types and levels rests on the precision and comprehensivity with which it refers to the immanent structures that essentially constitute the phenomenon under study. This structure must be internally *cohesive* and include all constituents of the phenomenon expressed implicitly and explicitly in the descriptive data base. General formulations must encompass any valid description of an example falling within its scope. All psychological statements must be born out by positive exemplification (at least implicitly or without counter-evidence) by "naive" description. In other words, if a revelatory statement is found in the naive description which is not reflected in the psychological formulation, or if the psychological formulation makes a statement that is not implicit or receives counter-evidence in the original description, the formulation is invalid. The necessary and sufficient (i.e. essential) constituents of the phenomenon which arise from the researcher's psychological sense must be a faithful

reflection of the situation(s) to which the data refer. These criteria for validity are of course far more stringent than that of experimentally supported hypotheses since they demand veridical reference to every actual subject, every bit of actual data, and in the case of general assertions every possible (not merely probable) manifestation of the phenomenon included in the specified scope of the formulation.

Interpretive and Practical Extension of Findings

Often the research process does not end with the formulation of findings. A further moment of research is required to relate the findings to various sectors of the lifeworld within which the research is situated. Sometimes this is the aim of the research from its original definition of interests. The method of doing this is often highly implicit and rarely talked about except by Von Eckartsberg (1977) who argues strongly for the necessity of "the return (to the lifeworld)" from the special region of psychology. He points to the beneficial existential transformation subjects of research have sometimes enjoyed which extends beyond the conclusion of research. In our study of "being criminally victimized," interview dialogs were part of a process of restoring the broken sense of community of victims which we further extended into public forums where victims, police, government/law officials, and community members discussed our findings and their practical implications for public policy and neighborhood life (Fischer and Wertz, 1979). In essence, the telos of this phase is the appropriation of the research's meaning and value by individuals and collectivities beyond its participants.

One direction researchers often take is to relate their findings to other psychological theories and practices. Aanstoos' (1983) work on thinking bore critical implications for information processing theories as our work on perception (Wertz, 1982) did for experimental procedures in perceptual research. Findings in the area of psychopathology (e.g. Laing, 1964) often have important implications for psychotherapy that must be worked out by the researcher.

Research may bear fruits in regions of theory and practice beyond psychology as van den Berg's (1966) study of "being ill" does for the medical field. Thinking along these lines seems to follow the personal interests and stock of knowledge of the re-

searcher, who may desire to illuminate and intervene in phenomena beyond those actually researched. For instance, research on crying may be able to tell us something about the meaning of masculinity in a culture that considers it unmasculine to cry. Research on women's roles may imply ways for them to emancipate themselves from oppression. Here the utility of research reaches its fruition.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

One issue we have barely touched upon that is worthy of more attention is that of reliability, specifically in the sense of the intersubjectivity of research. The demands of phenomenologically oriented research on the reflective powers and overall personal presence/participation of the researcher are tremendous. Rather than attempting to minimize, restrict or exclude these capacities, we have called for their ever more intensified though disciplined involvement. While researchers are therefore not interchangeable, they are fundamentally communicable. They may share, differ, agree or disagree at least in principle on many a procedure and finding, but this need not lead to any sort of groundless subjective or intersubjective relativism. By precisely specifying her interests and procedures, mutual understanding in reference to the phenomenon itself is always possible. Since the lived is always greater than the known, it is possible for a researcher to recognize and surpass the limits of her truth just as it is for others, who are no more or less privileged except by virtue of their own powers of reflection, to do so in the present and future.

REFERENCES

Aanstoos, C. M. (1983). A phenomenological study of thinking. In A. Giorgi, A. Barton, & C. Maes (Eds.) *Duquesne studies in phenomenolgical psychology: Vol 4* (pp. 244-256). Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press.

Alapack, R. (1972). *The phenomenology of the natural athlete.* (Doctoral dissertation, Duquesne University, 1972). *Dissertation Abstracts International, 33*, 6098B.

Barton, A. (1974). *Three worlds of therapy.* Palo Alto, Ca: National Press.

Boss, M. (1963). *Psychoanalysis and Daseinsanalysis.* New York: Basic Books.

Buckley, F. (1975). The everyday struggle for the leisurely attitude. In A. Giorgi, C. Fischer, & E. Murray (Eds.) *Duquesne studies in phenomenological psychology:Vol 2* (pp. 261-272). Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press.

Colaizzi, P. F. (1967). Analysis of the learner's perception of the learning material at different stages in the learning process. *Review of Existential Psychology and Psychiatry, 7*, 106-118.

Colaizzi, P. F. (1973). *Reflection and research in psychology.* Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt.

Fink, E. (1933). *Die phenomenologische philosophie Husserls in der gegenwartigen kritik.* Kantstudien.

Fischer, C. T. (1971). Toward the structure of privacy: implications for psychological assessment. In A. Giorgi, W. F. Fischer, & R. Von Eckartsberg (Eds). *Duquesne studies in phenomenological psychology: Vol. 1* (pp. 149-160). Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press.

Fischer, C. T. & Wertz, F. J. (1979). Empirical phenomenological analyses of being criminally victimized. In A. Giorgi, R. Knowles, & D. L. Smith (Eds.) *Duquesne studies in phenomenological psychology: Vol. 3* (pp. 135-158). Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press.

Fischer, W. F. (1970). *Theories of anxiety.* New York: Harper & Row.

Fischer, W. F. (1974). On the phenomenological mode of researching "being anxious." *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology, 5*, 405-423.

Giorgi, A. (1970). *Psychology as a human science.* New York: Harper & Row.

Giorgi, A. (1975). An application of phenomenological method in psychology. In A. Giorgi, C. Fischer, & E. Murray (Eds.) *Duquesne studies in phenomenological psychology: Vol. 2* (pp. 82-403). Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press.

Giorgi, A. (1983). *Theoretical justification for the use of description in psychological research.* Paper presented at the Symposium on Qualitative Research in Psychology. Perugia, Italy.

Husserl, E. (1977). *Phenomenological psychology.* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

Kuhn, T. S. (1962). *The structure of scientific revolutions.* Chicago: Phoenix.

Laing, R. D. (1964). *The divided self.* Baltimore: Tavistock Publications.

Levi, B. (1978). *The coherence of gestures in improvisational dance: an empirical explanatory study informed by Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological ontology.* (Doctoral dissertation, Duquesne University, 1978). *Dissertation Abstracts International, 39*, 1935B.

Maloni, J. (1967). Failure and self esteem in a homogeneous group of adolescents. *Review of Existential Psychology and Psychiatry, 7*, pp. 189-200.

Neisser, U. (1976). *Cognition and reality.* San Francisco: W. H. Freeman.

Stevick, E. L. (1971). An empirical investigation of the experience of anger. In A. Giorgi, W. F. Fischer, & R. Von Eckartsberg (Eds.), *Duquesne studies in phenomenological psychology: Vol. 1* (pp. 132-148). Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press.

van den Berg, J. H. (1966). *Psychology of the sickbed.* Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press.

van Kaam, A. (1959). Phenomenal analysis: exemplified by a study of the experience of "really feeling understood." *Journal of Individual Psychology, 15*, pp. 66-72.

Von Eckartsberg, R. (1971). On experiential methodology. In A. Giorgi, W. F. Fischer, & R. Von Eckartsberg (Eds.) *Duquesne studies in phenomenological psychology: Vol. 1* (pp. 66-79). Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press.

Von Eckartsberg, R. (1977). *Psychological research methods at Duquesne.* Pittsburgh: Unpublished Manuscript.

Wertz, F. J. (1982). Findings and value of a descriptive approach to everyday perceptual process. *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology, 13*, 169-195.

Wertz, F. J. (1983a). The constituents of descriptive psychological reflection. *Human Studies, 6*, 35-51.

Wertz, F. J. (1983b). From everyday to psychological description: analyzing the moments of a qualitative data analysis. *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology, 14*, 197-241.

PHENOMENOLOGY OF THE UNCONSCIOUS

Robert J. Masek*

Historically, Freud's interpretation of the unconscious stands as the most influential as well as the most criticized viewpoint on this theme in psychology. Broadly, it is to Freud's enduring credit to have recognized, within a scientific framework, that a person's existence is not reducible to his or her awareness of it, and that human will has limits. In so doing, Freud extended the psychiatric focus to include a *psychological* understanding of neuroses, culture, and everyday life.

Cast within Freud's scientific approach, these formulations of human insentience continue their expression as "the unconscious" within psychology. For example, introductory psychology textbooks include the unconscious as a necessary datum of psychological knowledge (Gleitman, 1981). Likewise, among the psychodynamic theoretical persuasions that inform clinical psychology and psychiatry, the unconscious inhabits the therepeutic millieu (Wolberg, 1982). Some variation of the unconscious is operative even in many "Third-Force" psychotherapies that have reacted against the determinism of orthodox psychoanalysis (Perls, Hefferline, & Goodman, 1951; Rogers, 1965). Also, unconscious perspectives of a person's functioning are central to many areas of psychological assessment (Rabin, 1981; Rapaport, Gill, & Schafer, 1968; Semeonoff, 1976), and to an understanding of psychological disorders (Altrocchi, 1980; Searles, 1965; Shapiro, 1965). Finally, the voluminous number of controlled studies on psychoanalytically inspired hypotheses testifies to the popularity of investigating "unconscious processes" in psychological research (Eysenck, 1973; Fisher & Greenberg, 1977; Silverman, Lachmann, & Milich, 1982). Indeed, the unconscious occupies such a central position within psychoanalysis that Boss (1963) argues that it stands or falls with the notion of the unconscious.

For better or for worse, the unconscious became a dubious resident within the scope of psychology as a science. I say dubious because it is largely the *institutionalized interpretation* of the unconscious that has held such an equivocal and often criticized sta-

* Department of Psychology, West Georgia College, Carrollton, Georgia 30118

tus in the field. The various *phenomena* at which this interpretation aims continue to be indisputably present, theoretically beguiling, and clinically significant to a number of clinicians, researchers, and theoreticians of psychology. Thus, the enduring appearance and appreciation of these phenomena have continued in psychology and everyday life, while their psychoanalytic interpretations have received extensive criticisms and calls for revision.

In response to this problem, I analyzed the issue of approach in a psychology of the unconscious (Masek, 1980/1981). First, the institutionalized meaning of the unconscious was shown to be inextricably intertwined with both the approach and theoretical superstructure of psychoanalysis. Criticisms of psychoanalysis were reviewed in an effort to determine the nature of possible revisions called for as they may apply to the unconscious. These criticisms and revisions were examined through Giorgi's (1970) insight that all scientific theorizing and practice involves an approach-method-content structure. Specifically, criticisms by some behavioral psychologists, positivistic philosophers of science, and many psychoanalysts emphasize revisions at the method and content levels, leaving the approach relatively unexamined. In contrast, phenomenological psychologists and philosophers argue that revisions must begin with the approach. They argue that psychoanalysis stands on a dated natural science approach which leads to empirical difficulties in how human phenomena are viewed, theoretically understood, and engaged in clinical practice. Therefore, an alternative phenomenological approach, using lived experience as evidence, was presented and utilized. Results of this revision were shown to avoid many of the empirical inconsistencies and problems identified earlier. Overall, the clinical determination of unconscious processes was shown to be possible by recourse to the evidence of perceptual experience when relationship was viewed as *dialogue*. Thereby, many problems associated with a natural science approach to dynamic insentience were shown to be overcome.

I would like to take the reader into the sense of this revision by a consideration of two issues that disclose the differences between a phenomenological and psychoanalytic psychology of the unconscious. I should add that these features, common to Freud's understanding of the unconscious, pervade many contemporary drive/defense analytic and non-analytic clinical orientations as well. These features are: 1) the empirical determination of *what* a client is unconscious-of, and 2) the "localization" of the uncon-

scious, and the question of how it is disclosed within the matrix of self-other relations.

THE OBJECT OF DYNAMIC INSENTIENCE

Any differential clinical orientation which begins from axiomatic assumptions about "human nature" contains a psychology of the unconscious, whether that be explicitly stated or implicitly assumed. For example, Rogers (1965) highlights disowned feeling in his treatment of the insentient life of his clients, while Perls (1951) may focus on helping his clients to first become aware of, then dialogue with, and finally achieve closure on the unassimilated, other-person introjects.

Psychoanalysis, too, has a psychology of the unconscious, which poses special empirical problems in its ability to assess the *meaning* of what the analytic patient is dynamically *unaware-of* in his or her living. One problem is that Freud's psychoanalysis already knows *in advance* that presented clinical problems - symptoms, dreams, transference, and free association - ultimately reflect some conflict in the ability to love and/or move on the world, as instinctual sexuality or aggression may be liberally defined within the therapeutic situation.

In my earlier work, I showed how this and other features of analytic thought and practice arise from a dated natural science approach that leads psychoanalysis to conceive of exquisitely human phenomena in thing-like terms. For now, I would like to indicate three problems in the psychoanalytic determination of what a person is unaware of, dynamically, in their living.

The first is that the object of dynamic unconsciousness is predetermined, *a priori*, by recourse to hypothetical agents (instincts) which exist outside the potentially available evidence of lived-experience. From his first psychoanalytic publication to his last, Freud was adamant that the unconscious was absolutely inaccessible to direct perceptual contact by either self *or* other. As the privileged determiners of psychological life, instincts were known only through their representative appearances, but were themselves unknowable. In practice, this means that as a knowledge gathering theory psychoanalysis has no means of empirically confirming what it *does see* because it deprives itself of evidence to the contrary, and it has no means of assessing what it methodologically *ignores* because other possible lived-meanings are excluded

from empirical consideration as possible objects of dynamic unconsciousness.

Two problems expressed in clinical practice are consequences of this position. First, since psychoanalysis only detects vicissitudes of the ability to love and move on the world, psychoanalytic interpretation mirrors this bias, and, *de facto*, remains within these parameters. Hence, the real possibility exists that a given client's dilemmas may not be faithfully grasped and responded to within the therepeutic arena. Empathic failures of this kind may, in turn, promote resistance, rage or depression, and the possible termination of the therapy by the client (Kohut, 1977). Second, these same features of the psychoanalytic approach truncate an openness to the documented historical changes in psychopathology as our culture changes (van den Berg, 1964; Wheelis, 1958). Here, the ability of psychoanalysis to remain contemporary is called into question as well as its aim to respond to an evolving, suffering humanity, for both the empirical certainty and quality of practice are directly affected by these considerations.

In contrast, a phenomenological psychology of the unconscious allows both the potential range and often unique variety of lived meanings to emerge as possible objects of dynamic insentience. As a knowledge-gathering approach, this psychology allows the object of dynamic insentience to *emerge* from an examination of the potentially explicable field of clinician/client interexperience. The end result of this approach is that the limits of *what* will be considered as unconscious meanings is both founded in and potentially explicit through the evidence of experience. Accordingly, it becomes unnecessary to move outside the situation as interexperienced to determine what is unconscious for a given person. In fact, to do so is to depart from this empirical basis. This approach allows a clearer, more empirically grounded determination of the object because consideration is given to both the range of potential meanings as well as the multiperspective nature of each experiential theme. In short, this psychology does not exclude any evidence to the contrary because, in principle, all evidence is considered as long as it is given through someone's perceptual viewpoint. This openness to object determination avoids the reductionistic-deterministic biases of psychoanalytic psychology, and is also anti-speculative in that both the initial identification and specific nature of the object arise from a lived basis of client-therapist dialogue. Key presuppositions within this psychology further help

the psychologist to make explicit, examine, and if necessary "bracket" many of the influences that he or she brings into the situation. Accordingly, much effort is maintained to faithfully stay in touch with the expressions of the client and distinguish unexamined influences that may prefigure an understanding of his or her life world. In Giorgi's (1970) terms, the psychologist is then able to distinguish between the universe of science or objective thought and the primordial phenomena which are lived prior to these objectivations. This value of greater empirical certitude was precisely what drew psychologists to a phenomenological approach (Giorgi, 1970; May, 1959; van den Berg, 1974). Accordingly a psychology of dynamic insentience grounded in this approach appears to allow a more empirically certain determination of *what* the client is unconscious of, thereby minimizing empathic misreadings on the part of the therapist, and encouraging a solid therapeutic alliance.

The value of this psychology has further implications for the second issue raised: the fixed assumptions of psychoanalytic psychology preclude the recognition of changes in the forms and meanings of psychological disorders. In contrast, the open-ended approach toward clinical data by a phenomenological approach affords a wide view of these changing conditions. Consequently, the consensual patterns and unique subtleties expressed through the changing nature of people are capable of being included in this approach in a manner that is faithful to how they may originally appear.

THE LOCALIZATION OF DYNAMIC UNCONSCIOUSNESS

That Freud's explicit metapsychology is a "mechanics of the mind" is undoubtable. From its initial, unfinished articulation in the *Project* (1895/1977), through its refinement in Chapter 7 of the *Traumdeutung* (1900/1953) — indeed, throughout the fabric of his complete works — human living is depicted in thing-like terms appropriate to Galilean physics. Amacher (1965) has superbly detailed how Freud's neurological education into the science of his time influenced his approach to psychological life, and the expression of these influences throughout specific aspects of his work have been identified (Masek, 1980/1981; Sirkin & Fleming, 1982). Bettleheim's (1983) admonitions about translation errors notwithstanding, the Freudian psychology of the English-

speaking world provides us with a metapsychological map that fails to faithfully reflect the lived relations and contours of our psychological life.

That Freud should conceive of human insentience as occupying a spatially conceived locale is one such problem in the map's reflection of the lived terrain. Stated succinctly, Freud (1915/1957) localized the unconscious outside the person's perceptual field, but within the person seen as psychophysical organism. Thereby, being unconscious-of-something was transformed from its initial adjectival clarification of perceptual life (*unbewusstlich*) (Freud, 1912/1958), to a region (*das Unbewusst*), an unknown (*das Es*) (Freud, 1915/1957), that defied direct perceptual inspection and was accessible only through psychoanalytic method. Being-unconscious-of-something was thereby literalized into a locale within the body, and in this move was placed outside any perceptual standpoint, any direct evidence provided through experience.

The empirical problems of this approach should be obvious, for in its by-passing of perception in favor of method, the psychoanalytic account invites the possibilities of rigid dogmatism and wild speculation in therapeutic interventions. All this is clear when the analytic account of the body is made explicit and seen to be reflected in both the stated psychology and concrete practice of psychoanalysis. An account of the body is also at the heart of a phenomenological approach to the unconscious, and yields a revised understanding that helps overcome many empirical problems.

In a phenomenological psychology of the unconscious, being-unconscious-of-something is always situated in the undivided dialogue between self and other, and is initially reflected through the viewpoint of that literal or "insentient other" person within that dialogue. This view stands in direct contrast to Freud's stated metapsychology, and is one consequence of a phenomenological account of the lived-body when that is framed by the question: "how as subjectivities, they (people) can manifest themselves to me" (LaPointe, 1976, p. 213).

A summary of this account discloses that a person is always operatively engaged in a *situation* in and through a prereflectively related "expressive body" (Merleau-Ponty, 1945/1962). That person is capable of being known in a direct and limited way, and, accordingly, exists as a genuine rather than indirectly constructed

other person. The other person is directly experienced because subjectivity is embodied, and expressed through behavior. Consequently, behavior and subjective experience are not mutually exclusive — absolutely public or private — and a person's intentions, desires, motives, and moods are not absolutely divorced from their expressed appearances as grasped by the other person's viewpoint. Zaner (1970, p. 195) illustrates this position concretely in the following quote:

> Only because of this (behavior expressive of subjectivity) is it then possible for instance for my friend to be able to "tell" how I feel by looking at my gestures, postures, facial expressions, listening to the sound of my voice, and so on. My boredom *is* the weary aspect of my mouth and eyes; my arms are exasperated. My flushed face is my shame.

Admittedly, at specific points in time, relative priorities of viewpoints in the knowledge of a person are also disclosed through self-other relations. For example, while the other person's standpoint may catch my shame, I may have privileged access to *what-I-am-ashamed-about*, at least until the other person invites me to express myself on this issue.

Accordingly, in a very direct way, bodily existence is always a perceptually shareable existence between self and others, is always situated between the viewpoints present to us — including our own. Hence, a person's experience of himself, like all perceptual experience, is necessarily finite, incomplete, and at times ambiguous. Many perspectives of that person authentically remain outside the field of self experience and are perceptually available to the other person. On this basis, Merleau-Ponty (1945/1962) suggests that the lived, expressive body, like a work of art, always reveals a *spectacle of meaning*, which is co-constituted by the co-existence of other viewpoints. Moreover, to continue this analogy, we must also recognize that the artist's perspective on his work, like the perspective on oneself, does not always coincide with that of others.

These authentic limits to self-knowledge define what I call a *generic unconscious* because they are indigenous to both normative and so-called "repressed" instances in a phenomenological psychology of the unconscious. In short, these limits to self-knowledge are expected when intentionality is understood as *dialogue*

— where self-transcendence and co-existence with other people, whether given in a face-to-face or "insentient other" mode, is the rule in a phenomenological approach. In the Heideggerian sense, this ground may be seen as the existential basis that allows the possibilities for both a genuine self-innocence about our action and a truth given through the other person's viewpoint on our life.

The question of "the localization of the unconscious" is thus an artifact of the peculiar approach through which Freud disclosed and understood clinical instances of insentience. Within a phenomenological approach, the question of localization is replaced by the question of *perceptual viewpoint*. That is, from whose viewpoint is a psychological phenomenon grasped? What is that viewpoint (Noesis), and what *perspectives* or *profiles* of the perceptually present are disclosed (Noema) to the community of perceptually participating people? Moreover, when seen from this approach, the clinical unconscious is not faithfully rendered when thought of as a thing, a noun, as though its meaning were invariant and divorced from the context of lived relations. Yet, this aptly describes the nature of the account that Freud (1915/1957) authored in his most focused attempt to describe the essence of how clinical instances of insentience may be theoretically understood and rendered in a psychology of the unconscious.

Therefore, in my earlier work, I offered phenomenological revision of these and other issues in a presentation of what I called *dynamic insentience*. For now, I want to focus more closely on the specific problem of how this insentience may be understood within the clinical dialogue of *seeing and being seen*.

SEEING AND BEING-SEEN IN A PSYCHOLOGY OF DYNAMIC INSENTIENCE

If we want to faithfully and empirically depict the lived meanings of dynamic insentience and reflect them into a new psychology, then we must relinquish the map that Freud gave us, and seek to recover the original terrain of his observations — the interpersonal, therapeutic relationship, as lived within a situation contextualized by its practical interest in emancipation. I believe this joint enterprise was the very soil for the unconscious that Freud discovered with his patients, but I also believe that he fell asleep to the rich immediacy of these lived-relations in his urgency to explain them in a scientific metapsychology.

Two examples, drawn from clinical practice, may help to return us to these relations. Each portrays psychoanalytically typical instances of dynamic insentience, or what Freud (1915/1957) termed the *unconscious proper*.

Case One. I will never forget an admission interview I had with a woman who had been admitted to the psychiatric hospital where I was completing my clinical internship. Her admissions record showed her to be especially vulnerable to what she viewed as unsolicited sexual assaults from males, encounters that left her feeling humiliated, ashamed, and mystified as to what she experienced as "bad turns of fate" in her life. When I asked her to describe herself to me, so that I could know her better, she offered a coherent picture of herself as a good mother, wife, and member of the community. She described herself as deeply religious, "a caring person," whose living was guided by strong moral principle. At the same time that she was telling me this, I noticed that within the hour she had managed to hike her dress up to the point where it no longer concealed her pelvis. When I pointed this out to her she terminated the interview by shouting that I was "no better than those other men."

Case Two. Our second example draws from the life of a 28-year-old single male university student, whose original concerns were that his compulsive dating of women had dangerously interfered with his ability to sustain a disciplined relationship with his academic work. As therapy went on, mother emerged as a distant, aloof woman whose sense of affective removal from him permeated his every discussion of her. His gradual recognition of this, and the context it provided for him to begin to understand himself, led to a gradual lessening of his compulsion to date and an improvement in his ability to take up and enjoy his academic life. In one later session, which had the luxury of open possibilities and savored silences, he showed both curiosity and mild concern about a habit he wished to discuss. He mentioned that for most of his life he could only surrender to sleep when a "noisy" electrical appliance was running in his room. For years, he said, a man's hair dryer had served this purpose. When I asked him to try to describe the sound to me, to tell me what it sounded like, he paused, then with a look of surprise he went on to thematize the sound his "Nanny's" vacuum cleaner made as she came to clean the house three days a week. To my question, "What was she like?" he immediately characterized her as "all that my mother wasn't . . .

she really loved me, and made me feel good about myself. When she hugged me, I would sink right into her warm body and think that I never wanted to let go. I never felt that I could get enough of her." In point of fact, her insentient presence, expressed through his hair dryer, continued her presence in his life.

At this point, let us try to "bracket" the presuppositions of established metapsychology and enter into the self-other dialogue in these examples in the same spirit that Kohut (1977) advocates an "empathic" examination of self-other perspectives from within the "self-object" relationship. At the same time, we will be seeking to establish how dynamic insentience is given or disclosed to the participating viewpoints through which it is known. Let us begin with the viewpoint of the other person as that is vividly depicted through the first example.

This woman lived out instances of her psychological life to which she was relatively blind from her own viewpoint. That is, her experience of herself could not contain the sexual currents of her life, and were lived without being articulately known, integrated, and responsibly owned. From my viewpoint on her, she presented a dissociated (Breuer & Freud, 1893/1950), ambivalent (Merleau-Ponty, 1945/1962), or divided existence (van den Berg, 1974). That is, her knowledge of herself, as given through her description, did not fully coincide with the person she presented to me. I witnessed her division, whereas she appeared knowledgeable of and able to defend her own viewpoint on herself, or better — to defend against appropriating the viewpoint of the other. All this occurred within the relationship of perceptual dialogue at a pre-theoretical level *between* us. The same could be said for the second example of the young man who diligently plugged in his hair-dryer nightly at a time when he abandoned his defenses for sleep. That he should later come to appreciate the presence of his thematized Nanny in this effort was contingent on my *being-there* as a viewpoint that first perceived then returned these meanings to him. Hence, to conceive of their respective insentiences as within them is to ignore the fundamental evidence of how these people saw themselves and were seen within the therapeutic situation.

Further, and in dialogue with Freud, we can say that this insentience is not accurately reflected when thought of as a "real" latent content that is recoverable only through a psychoanalytic interpretation of the so-called, "disguised" manifest appearances. In the case of the woman, her insentience *was* the innocence over

the meaning of her exposed pelvis in that situation — the hair-dryer's voice *was* the insentient presence of his Nanny, and the needed, lost meanings that she presented to him. Psychoanalytic distinctions of the manifest from latent draw their authority from a philosophical separation of the appearances from the real nature of things, and support the primacy of method over perception in Cartesian natural science (Straus, 1966).

Indeed, psychoanalysis and phenomenology do labor to uncover a common latency in our living, but this latency is not preexistent behind the appearances nor below them in a depth deprived of presence. Let us remember that in each of our examples the appearances were the point of departure through which we arrived at the meaning of the insentience. Hence, phenomenological interpretations do not so much uncover depth as much as they adumbrate the meaning of those appearances over time through the client's appropriation of the therapist's viewpoint. Again, this labor is conducted *between* the participants, and its fruition is the transformation of a relative innocence into the beginnings of a knowledge upon which the client may now act in order to free himself.

Some phenomenological psychologists have sought to depict these affairs by stating that the therapist's consciousness is the unconscious of the client (Fischer, 1971; Straus, 1966; van den Berg, 1974). This insight requires rephrasing more in line with our dialogal approach. The therapist's consciousness is not the unconscious of the client. The therapist's perceptual consciousness is *access* to the client's insentience, which begins to exist for the client only when it is uttered and mirrored back, as a *viewpoint* on them. Thereafter, once that expressed viewpoint is appropriated, it may take on an operative, "para-thematic" (Giorgi, 1982) status in the client's project of working through. In short, that unconsciousness remains the client's; nonetheless, it becomes disclosed, expressed, and later appropriated in dialogue as the therapist's viewpoint.

Accordingly, dynamic insentience does not exist within the person, nor does it exist outside any basis of lived perceptual evidence. Rather, like the phantom limb, it exists between the copresent viewpoints as an ambivalent existence expressed by the limited person. This insentience is thus a special instance of a rupture of intersubjectivity within the therapeutic dialogue. In this connection, both Van den Berg (1974) and Winnicott (1971) note

an inequality and inability to play between the therapeutic participants as a describable index to this rupture.

Are we to believe that those clients in our cited examples had no perceptual access to, no knowledge of, what they were unconscious-of? Put differently, was Freud correct in maintaining his unique distinction between conscious processes and an absolute unconscious proper? If so, then what a client is unconscious-of is absolutely inaccessible to him and absolutely reducible to the viewpoint of the therapist. We shall see that this is not so when the individual's perceptual appreciation of himself is examined through an examination of that individual's field of perceptual experience.

First, perceptual experience makes a distinction between various gradations of awareness and unawareness, object presence and absence. Hence, the distinction between an absolute awareness and unawareness of something is not upheld by an interrogation of the perceptual field. Second, dynamic insentience is lived out operatively without being completely and thematically known. We shall see that a limited, relative knowledge is disclosed through the client's viewpoint, a knowledge, as we have shown, that is expressed through his or her action rather than through articulate thought. Let us take these points one at a time.

Gradations of awareness and unawareness, degrees of object presence and absence, are indigenous to the individual's perceptual field. Merleau-Ponty (1970, p.4) puts it this way:

> Every perception is the perception of something by way of being at the same time the relative imperception of a horizon or background which it implies but does not thematize.

This is so when perceptual consciousness is viewed as the individual's field (Gurwitsch, 1964). Here, the horizonal is the accessibly implicit perceptual meanings that are not realized into thematic awareness. Within this frame, Freud's preconscious is capable of being integrated and understood within this viewpoint. Within this field, the articulation of one's self-experience is given as clearly thematic or temporarily absent perspectives, as well as in the muted tones of the genuinely indeterminate and ambiguous moments of our thoughts and actions. Hence, knowledge and innocence about oneself are not absolute, not so easily divided into regions of explicit, sharp clarity and total, mysterious lacunae.

Clinical practice supports this. For example, when therapeutic interpretations effectively neutralize a client's defenses, the upsurge of meaning available to the client is marked by the client's confusion — for this previously unformulated meaning is given as the *inchoate*, rough, murky outlines of new possibilities, rather than the release of already formed explicitly given contents (Stern, 1983). Hence, degrees of insentience and clarity of meaning are the rule when recourse is taken to the individual's viewpoint on him or herself. Merleau-Ponty (1945/1962, p. 6) catches this flavor well when he says that "There occurs here an *indeterminate* vision, a *vision of something or other* . . . We must recognize the indeterminate as a positive phenomenon." Genuine ambiguity, degrees of clarity, and not immanently reflected meanings are the rule in a normal psychology of how people live their perceptual lives, including themselves (Wertz, 1982). Accordingly, Freud's absolute distinction between awareness and unawareness, and its implications for a client's knowledge and innocence about their own action, is not upheld in a new psychology of the unconscious.

We can also gain some understanding of what our clients know of their insentience by noticing a limited knowledge that is revealed through their action. Here, the dynamically insentient individual expressed a relative, *operative* awareness of what he or she is unconscious-of in contrast to the *thematic* significance of that action given through the viewpoint of the clinician. For example, the dynamically insentient person's action often expresses some operative awareness of their complex disclosed through how that person conspicously orients himself away from directly encountering those insentient meanings of himself, others, and the world (Wertz, 1982). This same style of avoidance and constriction of perception and action is highlighted elsewhere. Merleau-Ponty (1942/1963, p. 178), for example, suggests that the whole attitude of the person toward his insentient complex is one where he "avoids thinking about it in order not to have to integrate and be responsible for it." Here, the person does not explicitly recognize that he is avoiding, and certainly is unable to explicitly identify what he is avoiding. However, this avoidance is often disclosed as an operative knowledge: "he can evade his deficiency only because he knows where he risks encountering it," and he "knows what he does not want to face, otherwise he would not be able to avoid it so successfully" (Merleau-Ponty, 1945/1962).

COMPARISON OF THIS NEW PSYCHOLOGY TO EARLIER REVISIONS OF THE UNCONSCIOUS

In reaction to the problems of Freud's approach, earlier phenomenological revisions of the unconscious (Binswanger, 1970; Boss, 1963) sought to understand this theme by recourse to the individual's field of experience. Following Fink's (1939/1970) point that depth psychology's portrayal of the unconscious was based on an inadequate vision of consciousness, these efforts leaned heavily on Husserl's version of consciousness. Consciousness, here, was seen as a field in which the absence of meaning from thematic awareness is describable as the sedimented, horizonal, co-implicit meanings, founded in an operative intentionality, whose sense and organization is autochthonous within a passive genesis. In short, the unconscious is to be searched for within the submerged features of the perceptual life field.

Only later do we find a turning away from this reduction to the individual's outlook through the work of Ricoeur. Ricoeur's exquisite treatment of Freud rightly indicates the limits of this viewpoint to assimilate the psychoanalytic unconscious. Ricoeur (1970, p. 392) puts it this way:

> The unconscious of phenomenology is the preconscious of psychoanalysis . . . The meaning of the barrier is that the unconscious is inaccessible unless an appropriate technique is used . . . Phenomenology accounts only for "field phenomena" pertaining to a perceptual model (the fringes of the implicit, the horizon of the perceptible, the other side of the visible), that is to say, phenomena at the frontier between the preconscious and the conscious. . . .

Here, says, Ricoeur, is where phenomenology and psychoanalysis must part company in their ability to render the unconscious intelligible. Ricoeur would have us abandon a phenomenology of perception in our investigation of insentience, and grant an occult uniqueness to the psychoanalytic unconscious — a uniqueness that defies inclusion into a descriptive clarification of experience and requires method. But let us look more closely, for the phenomenology he advocates abandoning is, in fact, the phenomenology of the *individual's* viewpoint on himself, a point with which we would agree. However, Ricoeur appears to equate phenomenology with this viewpoint, and in this sense is throwing the baby out with the

bathwater.

In contrast, we have maintained that it is possible to clarify dynamic insentience by recourse to experience, through the shift to a dialogal approach wherein the self-insentience of the client is overcome by the inclusion of the therapist's point of view. In short, in approaching Freud's unconscious we must not abandon phenomenology, but rather an exclusive focus on the client's viewpoint of himself — the individual's field — and instead reflect how he lives, is known, and ultimately co-defined in dialogue with others. Indeed, there are authentic regions of our living that exceed the possible limits of our perception of our lives, and require the eyes of others for completion.

REFERENCES

Altrocchi, J. (1980). *Abnormal psychology*. New York: Harcourt Brace & Jovanovich.

Amacher, P. (1965). Freud's neurological education and its influence on psychoanalytic theory. *Psychological Issues*, 1, Monograph 16.

Bettleheim, B. (1983). *Freud and man's soul*. New York: Knopf.

Binswanger, L. (1970). Freud's conception of man in the light of anthropology. J. Needleman (Ed.), *Being in the world* (pp. 149-181). London: Souvenir.

Boss, M. (1963), *Psychoanalysis and Daseinsanalysis*. New York: Basic Books.

Breuer, J. & Freud, S. (1950). *Studies in hysteria*. Boston: Beacon Press. (Original work published 1893)

Eysenck, H. & Wilson, G. (1973). *The experimental study of Freudian theories*. London: Methuen.

Fink, E. (1970). Appendix VIII: Fink's appendix on the problem of the unconscious. In E. Husserl (author), *The crisis of the European sciences and transcendental phenomenology* (pp. 385-387). Evanston: Northwestern University Press. (Original work published 1939)

Fisher, W. F. (1971). The problem of unconscious motivation. In A. Giorgi, W.F. Fischer, & R. Von Eckartsberg (Eds.), *Duquesne studies in phenomenological psychology Vol. 1* (pp. 247-258). Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press.

Fisher, S. & Greenberg, R.P. (1977). *The scientific credibility of Freud's theories and therapy*. New York: Basic Books.

Freud, S. (1977). Project for a scientific psychology. In M. Bonaparte, A. Freud, & E. Kris (Eds.), *The origins of psychoanalysis* (pp. 355-445). New York: Basic Books. (Original work published 1895)

Freud, S. (1953). The interpretation of dreams. In J. Strachey (ed. and trans.), *The standard edition of the complete psychological works of Sigmund Freud* (Vols. 4 & 5). London: Hogarth Press. (Original work published 1900)

Freud, S. (1957). A note on the unconscious in psychoanalysis. *Standard edition*, (Vol. 14, pp. 159-215). (Original work published 1915)

Freud, S. (1958). The unconscious. *Standard edition*, (Vol. 12, pp. 255-266). (Original work published 1912)

Giorgi, A. (1970). *Psychology as a human science*. New York: Harper & Row.

Giorgi, A. (1982). *A classical phenomenological psychological analysis of the meaning of psychology*. Paper presented at the Southeastern Psychological Association, New Orleans.

Gleitman, H. (1981). *Psychology*. New York: Norton.

Gurwitsch, A. (1964). *The field of consciousness*. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press.

Kohut, H. (1977). *The restoration of the self*. New York: International Universities Press.

LaPointe, F. (1976). The existence of alter-egos: Jean-Paul Sartre and Maurice Merleau-Ponty. *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology*, 6, 209-216.

Masek, R. J. (1981). *The problems of approach in a psychology of the unconscious* (Doctoral dissertation, The University of Regina, (1980), *Dissertation Abstracts International, 42*, 812B.

May, R. (1959). The origins and significance of the existential movement in psychology. In R. May, E. Angel, & H. Ellenberger (Eds.), *Existence: A new dimension in psychiatry and psychology*. (pp. 3-36). New York: Basic Books

Merleau-Ponty, M. (1962). *Phenomenology of perception* (C. Smith, trans.). Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press. (Original work published 1945)

Merleau-Ponty, M. (1963). *The structure of behavior* (A. Fisher, trans.). Beacon Press. (Original work published 1942)

Merleau-Ponty, M. (1970). *Themes from the lectures* (J. O'Neill, trans.). Evanston: Northwestern University Press.

Perls, F., Hefferline, R.F., & Goodman, P. (1951). *Gestalt therapy*. New York: Dell.

Rabin, A. I. (1981). *Assessment with projective techniques*. New York: Springer.

Rapaport, D. Gill, M.M., & Schafer, R. (1968). *Diagnostic psychological testing*. New York: International Universities Press.

Ricoeur, P. (1970). *Freud and philosophy*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Rogers, C. (1965). *Client centered therapy*. New York: Houghton-Mifflin.

Searles, H. F. (1965). *Collected papers on schizophrenia and related topics*. New York: International Universities Press.

Semeonoff, B. (1976). *Projective techniques*. New York: Wiley & Sons.

Shapiro, D. (1965). *Neurotic styles*. New York: Basic Books.

Silverman, L. H., Lachmann, F. M., & Milich, R. (1982). *The search for oneness*. New York: International Universities Press.

Sirkin, M. & Fleming, M. (1982). Freud's "project" and its relationship to psychoanalytic theory. *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences, 18*, 230-241.

Stern, D. B. (1983). Unformulated experience. *Contemporary Psychoanalysis, 19*, 71-99.

Straus, E. (1966). *Phenomenological psychology*. New York: Basic Books.

van den Berg, J. H. (1964). *Divided existence and complex society*. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press.

Wertz, F. J. (1982). *A dialogue with the New Look: An historical critique and a descriptive approach to everyday perceptual process*. (Doctoral dissertation, Duquesne University, 1982). Dissertation Abstracts International, *43*, 284B.

Wheelis, A. (1958). *The quest for identity*. New York: Norton.

Winnicott, D. W. (1971). *Playing and reality*. New York: Basic Books.

Wolberg, L. R. (1982). *The practice of psychotherapy*. New York: Brunner/Mazel.

Zaner, R.M. (1970). *The problem of embodiment*. The Hague: Nijhoff.

PART TWO
FINDINGS

FORMING CLINICAL IMPRESSIONS: A PHENOMENOLOGICAL STUDY OF PSYCHODIAGNOSTIC SEEING

Scott D. Churchill*

Phenomenological psychology investigates the phenomena of human consciousness as lived; i.e., as manifested in concrete situations. Of specific interest is how consciousness is involved in structuring the world of everyday life: what is going on such that "there is" this or that conscious experience? In the present study, the question of how experience is given or "constituted" is taken up in the situation of psychodiagnostic interviewing. The phenomenological interest of this study is to articulate a structural understanding of the psychologist's experience during the interview phase of a psychodiagnostic assessment. The goal of this understanding is to make explicit the implicit constitutive functions that are lived, and not necessarily known, by the psychologist. This research is thus a "return to beginnings" in the psychologist's experience — an attempt to bring to light the origins of clinical impressions in the psychologist's illuminating presence to the client.

On the one hand, this study is inspired by a phenomenological interest in describing phenomena of human intentionality; on the other hand, it is motivated by a practical interest within the sphere of clinical psychology. How are psychologists "standing" such that they see what they see in a face-to-face encounter with an individual when their aim is to come to an understanding of the psychological life of that individual? By "stance" I am referring to a standpoint or style of presence that is constitutive of what one experiences. More simply, the research question is: how do psychologists "participate" in what they come to see? The primary reason for raising the question of the psychologist's intentional stance is that although practicing psychologists recognize or at least acknowledge that they themselves are an "instrument" of psychodiagnosis, little has been said in the interest of clarifying concretely how, in fact, the psychologist is constitutively involved as a perceiving agent in the task of psychodiagnosis.

* Department of Psychology, University of Dallas, Irving, Texas 75061

Although texts on psychodiagnostic assessment are filled with discussions of the various instruments, techniques, standard procedures, and interview formats to be adopted in psychological testing, the reader interested in learning about the psychologist's own experience of the psychodiagnostic interview will find only an absence of pertinent literature. This is an unfortunate situation for psychologists in training, because it leaves them with only a vague sense of what is meant by "clinical presence." It further leaves the impression that what is essential to psychodiagnosis is the processing of information about an individual. Indeed, one of the most prominent themes in the literature on assessment over the past thirty years has been the controversy over clinical versus statistical models of prediction (Meehl, 1954). This issue centers around how psychodiagnostic data are most efficiently processed—intuitively by clinicians or quantitatively according to the technology of information-processing.

Researchers from within the statistical tradition, influenced by decision-making technology, argue that clinical judgment, a human process that is not comprehended in the first place, should be replaced with a mathematical process that is seemingly more expedient (Hammond, Hursch, & Todd, 1964: Arthur, 1966; Lanyon, 1972). Chapman and Chapman (1967) even go so far as to say that "the clinician's cognitive task often apparently exceeds the capacity of the human intellect" (p. 204).

Erikson, on the other hand, argues that "there is a core of disciplined subjectivity in clinical work which it is neither desirable nor possible altogether to replace with seemingly more objective methods — methods which originate, as it were, in the machine-tooling of other kinds of work" (1958, p. 68). In the "clinical" approach, it is acknowledged that there are "informal" processes of observing and listening to the client that do not "generally operate by means of a highly conscious, rational, explicit drawing of inferences" (Holt, 1971, p. 11). It is this "subjective" side of the assessment process that researchers of clinical judgment seek to systematize: "As soon as the methods of science are applied to an informal, everyday process, it begins to turn into a discipline" (Holt, 1971, p. 43).

Psychologists attempting to investigate the clinician's "subjectivity," however, complain that the clinician's thinking is too "impressionistic" (Marks, Seeman & Haller, 1974), "complex" (Lanyon, 1972), or "private, quasi-rational and non-repeatable"

(Hammond, 1966) to be studied empirically. Thus, some researchers are deterred from studying clinical impression formation because it appears that the psychologist's judgments are a "function of a process that they cannot trace" (Hammond, 1966, p. 28). The result of this disparaging stance toward the clinician's ability to think and reflect is a body of research that fails to illuminate how clinicians are cognitively involved in the assessment process.

This clinical vs. statistical controversy has yielded research that seeks to compare the clinician with the computer. Although studies have shown that the computer is a superior processor of data when it comes to the application of actuarial methods, the clinician is at the same time acknowledged as probably always being a better collector of information (Holtzman, 1966). Thus Holt writes that "the objective ideal of completely mechanized assessment will be impossible until computers can be taught to feel, to judge, and to care about people" (1971, p. 12). Nevertheless, instructive clinical tests continue to dwell almost exclusively on the tasks of "formal" assessment, namely, testing and interpretation of the data, while only paying lip service to the fundamental task of the assessor to elicit and perceive the data in the first place. The irony is that clinical inference is thought to be more "empirical" when it is based just upon test data — that is, when it is *not* grounded in the clinician's experience.

While acknowledging that the experience of forming a clinical impression "typically happens outside the spotlight of our fullest (or focal) awareness," Holt posits that "it nevertheless can be shown to have a logical structure" (1971, p. 11). To the extent that psychodiagnostic seeing is a "function of covert processes" (Sullivan, 1954, p. 54), then these covert, i.e. implicit and constitutive, processes need to be brought to the clinician's awareness so that their influence can be critically checked. It was in service of addressing the need for research on this experience of the psychologist during the psychodiagnostic interview that the current study was undertaken.

METHOD

The Research Situation

The situation selected to manifest psychodiagnostic seeing was the interview phase of a psychodiagnostic assessment. As the psychologist enters the interview with referral information and

questions already in mind, these pre-assessment impressions and interests also fall under the scope of this research. Although psychodiagnostic seeing extends from the interview phase into testing, during the testing phase the psychologist also becomes concerned with administering and scoring the tests, and as a result, the focus is not always upon the client. The interview phase was thus chosen as exemplar *par excellence* of psychodiagnostic seeing because of its distinctive characteristic of placing the psychologist into direct contact with the client for the purpose of forming a clinical impression.

Subjects

Two psychologists served as subjects in this research, having met the following criteria: (a) they were licensed Ph.D. clinical psychologists; (b) they were willing to be videotaped interviewing a patient; and (c) the purpose of their interview would be to form a psychodiagnostic impression.

Procedure

Preliminary interview. The purpose of this step was to collect background data to be used by the researcher in subsequent analyses of the protocol data. The general issues that were raised included: how does the subject see the function of psychodiagnosis, what is the role of theory in his assessment of others, and what motivates him to do this kind of work. Such "background" information was considered to be essential insofar as "the 'sedimented' structure of the individual's experience is the condition for the subsequent interpretation of all new events and activities" (Schutz, 1962, p. xxviii). The data collected at this stage of the research were transcribed and put aside for subsequent collating with the other data.

Pre-assessment protocol. Immediately prior to the assessment, the subject was asked: "How are you going into the assessment? What are your referral questions and what impressions about the client do you already have as you go into the interview?" The purpose of this research step was to discover *prior* to the assessment interview, and prior to the subject's reflection on the interview, what specific questions and impressions were, in fact, horizons of the subject's subsequent perception of the client.

The interview phase of a psychodiagnostic assessment. This

was the concrete research situation itself, lived by the psychologist acting as a research subject, and videotaped for review during subsequent research interviews. In the assessment, the research subject (the psychologist) encountered his patient and together they went through what, for the psychologist, was a "standard" psychodiagnostic interview — one that was representative of his psychodiagnostic work.

Post-assessment protocol. Immediately following the assessment the psychologist was handed these written instructions.

> Would you please describe, as fully as you can, what you just experienced during the interview phase of your interaction with the client. I am interested in the course of events as they took place *for you* as you moved through the interview, including those momentary experiences and associations that might otherwise not seem directly relevant to assessment as such. I would like for your account to have provided an overview of the entire interview, including your entrance into testing, and detailed accounts of some of the different kinds of experience and activity that you went through.

Together with the pre-assessment protocols, the subjects' responses here constituted the empirical data for this research and thus the basis for further elaboration and clarification of the psychologists' experience.

Reading and posing questions to the protocols. The researcher read the protocol data to gain a preliminary sense of the content and organization of the subject's description. Through gaining a familiarization with the whole, the researcher began to grasp the contextual significance of individual statements, and was able to facilitate the eventual clarification of this significance by posing questions to the subject in the follow-up interview.

Follow-up interviews. These interviews were directed toward the elaboration and clarification of the experience to which the protocol data referred. The interviewing process consisted of a collaborative dialogue between the researcher and subject, where the subject was asked to read aloud from the protocols while the researcher interjected questions to facilitate clarification of issues relevant to the research. During these interviews, the videotape of the assessment was ready at hand to facilitate the subject's recollection of his experience.

Collating the data. The purpose of this step was to assemble a collated text out of all the data collected from the subject. This consisted of juxtaposing statements that spoke to a common theme from different places in the various interviews to form paragraphs of data, and arranging the paragraphs into a chronological sequence.

Data Analysis

Individual structural descriptions. The goal here was to articulate the "intentionality" (that is, the structural relationship between perceiver and perceived) revealed in the subject's experience that were described within each paragraph of collated text. The question posed to the data was: "What does this moment of the subject's experience reveal about his meaning-constituting activity in seeing the client psychodiagnostically?" This question placed the researcher's focus squarely on the perceiving as distinguishable from, but inextricably bound to, the perceived. It was precisely the latency of the act of perceiving within the perceived that was sought. The analysis proceeded from "what" was seen to "how" it was seen, i.e., to what constituted the "seeing" as such. Indeed, it was the "how" of the subjects' experience that they were not able to articulate during the research interviews. Whenever a subject was asked, "*how* did the client appear to you as such and such," he typically replied in terms of *what* he experienced, e.g., "he sounded mistrustful on the phone because his voice was very businesslike, cold and distant." The subjects were present to vicissitudes of what they saw in their clients. How they were seeing the client remained veiled from sight. The structural analysis, then, became an effort to focus on the act of seeing itself — that through which the subjects were able to understand their clients but which necessarily remained invisible to the subjects as long as they remained focused (even during the research interviews) on their clients.

After clarifying the intentionality manifested in each paragraph of data, cross-references were then sought in order to acquire a sense of the interrelationships among the various moments of the psychologist's experience. The analysis took an integrative approach that developed a contextual structure. The results of this first step of data analysis were articulated as Individual Structural Descriptions (ISD's) of each subject's experience. These express

both the intentionality of the individual moments of the subject's experience and the contextual interweaving of these moments.

General structural description. Having prepared ISD's from both subjects' data, the next task was to bring these results together into a statement of the general structure of psychodiagnostic seeing. The movement from the individual to general levels of analysis was carried out by means of what Husserl (1948/1973, pp. 340ff) called "eidetic reduction" and "free variation in the imagination." The essence of these research steps consisted of viewing the particular experiences from which structural descriptions had been derived as empirical variations of a general phenomenon that could take on other possible variations. Their empirical status as examples of an *eidos* was taken as a point of departure for envisioning multiplicity of variations through which a unity of sense became evident. Concretely, the researchers would read a statement from the ISD, then pause and consider what other ways a psychologist might experience the "same kind" of moment during an assessment. A sense of what was the same about the imagined variations and the original empirical example was then articulated as a general theme, i.e., a theme common to any and all variations.

After reflecting on all of the statements in the ISD's in this manner, a general statement was prepared to articulate the intentional structure of any psychodiagnostic act of seeing. Although the various aspects of psychodiagnostic seeing are interwoven in the subject's experience, in order to make a statement about these constituents and their interrelationships it was necessary to begin somewhere and proceed to articulate the structure of psychodiagnostic seeing constituent by constituent. Because of the structural nature of the results, however, there is a latent presence of the whole structure in the description of each of the particular constituents.

The General Structural Description expressed only what was most generally valid and thus was not able, by itself, to communicate the vivid sense of the findings that could be achieved at the individual level. Thus each segment of the final results of the research (i.e., each general structural statement) is followed by examples of the very data that were used to formulate the general statement and which serve as illustrations. In this way, the empirical data finds its place within the whole of the results.

RESULTS: GENERAL STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTION

The Attentive Regard of the Psychologist

Interests Constitutive of Psychodiagnostic Seeing. The psychologist is interested in a kind of information that is a function of how he or she is looking: psychologists seek out that which will arouse and satisfy their own particular interests. Constitutive of the direction of the psychologist's gaze is the psychologist's interest in that which is posited in advance as "the psychological." This psychological sphere of relevance varies according to the psychologist's own theoretical orientation and, during the encounter with the client, serves as a foresight that helps to uncover what would otherwise be hidden from sight. There is also a prognostic direction of the psychologist's seeing that places the actual perception of the client against the background of possible situations and orients the seeing in the here and now toward the question of the future functioning of the client. A more specific interest is motivated by what the psychologist already "knows" about the client. Knowledge that the psychologist has about the client prior to the assessment interview, whether in the form of information or questions, serves to establish some concrete expectations of what is to emerge later on. These preconceptions become part of the background against which the client's own presentation becomes figural to the psychologist.

Consciousness of the client. The attentive regard of the psychologist is directed primarily toward the client as a thematic object. There are two discernible modes of attention involved in psychodiagnostic seeing, depending on what the psychologist experiences as most salient at the given moment: the individual "over there" or the psychologist's own interests. Although aimed toward the goal of making categorical judgments of "predications" about the client, psychodiagnostic seeing is lived originally as a prepredicative or receptive regard for the client through which the psychologist finds himself or herself "struck" by perceptually given features that are physiognomic. The perceptual salience of such features is a function of the psychologist's own style of presence to others which attunes his or her gaze to features that carry a meaning relative to that style. Here the psychologist experiences the forming of impressions in a receptive mode: "just listening to," or "feeling a sense of," the client. This mode is a passive observing that follows the lead of the client. There is also

an active seeking in which the psychologist is "listening for" specific or more general kinds of information from the client. Part of what makes psychodiagnostic seeing a praxis is precisely this interest in developing a certain kind of understanding. Active seeking is guided by the psychologist's preconceptions of psychological typicalities and by the referral questions and information. Active seeking also involves the use of imagination as a means of filling-out initial impressions. In addition to shifts between active and passive modes of attention, there are also spontaneous shifts in modes of unreflective consciousness, from perceiving to imagining, and from remembering to anticipating. Each mode directs the attention of the psychologist toward the client, while each illuminates different profiles of the client. The psychologist experiences a feeling of satisfaction when the directing of attention upon the client fulfills his or her interests.

Illustration. S.'s perceptual activity was not only a passive listening; rather he saw himself consciously "looking for threads"—that is, discerning the essential elements of his client's experience—"and raising them to that level" of understanding that was constituted by S.'s own theoretical stock of knowledge. The latter provided S. with the psychological concepts that generally inform his understanding of individuals, i.e., that enable him to "go back to the person and say, 'I think *this* is what's happening.' " S.'s work thus consisted of moving beyond the level of concreteness that was characteristic of his client's self-description. To accomplish this, he viewed the events described "as an example of some psychological thing which ties in with all kinds of other things." This was clearly an essential and distinctive constituent of his psychodiagnostic seeing, namely, that he was explicitly present to his preconceptions of psychological phenomena which provided his gaze with a kind of "foresight" or way of seeing *in-to* the psychological meaning of the client's lived events. S. reported that at one point when he asked the client if he felt depressed, "his expression changed, became more grim, sad, almost despairing .... I remember thinking to myself, 'Wow! This guy is really in the depths!' ... I was really glad when that happened because it felt like there was some emotion in it .... It was like I hit a raw nerve — and I was getting some results." S. was clearly not happy that his client was depressed; rather, he was pleased that the client had expressed his depression. It was not the particular content of expression, but the kind of expression — the expression of

"depths"—that was the aim of S.'s work. Given his personal interest in "psychological depths," S. was actively on the lookout for this in the client's self-expression: he was pleased when he finally saw his client "in the depths" because he was finally "getting some results."

The Formation of Clinical Impressions

Empathic contemplation and initial imaging. Initially and at times throughout the interview, the psychologist allows an impression of the client to form, not as the result of deliberate contemplation, but rather as a spontaneous adumbration of images. The empathic feeling of the psychologist "into" the experience of the client is originally a prepredicative experience that subsequently becomes languaged as explications about the client. These "first impressions" are the correlates of a receptive, affective attunement with the individual. It is always a predicative (explicative) act of the psychologist, motivated by psychodiagnostic interests, that constitutes prepredicative (empathic, sensory) experience as "information."

Illustration. S. at first allowed an impression of the client to form in his experience without explicitly thinking about it. The impression itself was not the result of deliberate contemplation but rather was lived as a spontaneous adumbration of images in S.'s consciousness, "just sort of noting (the client's) tone of voice, his expressions, his capacity to share personal information." S.'s receptive regard, embodied in his "evenly hovering presence," was directed toward developing a global impression of his client's psychological life. In forming this impression, S. was not thinking calculatively in terms a diagnostic label; rather, he stayed at the level of the client's self-presentation in order to get a feel for his experience: "I like to let what the person is saying strike up images in my own head. I don't sit there thinking, 'Hmm, unipolar depression.' What I think is, 'Gee, this guy's really depressed; he hasn't been sleeping.' And I might wonder to myself ...." It was S.'s empathic taking up of the fact that the client had not been sleeping that gave him a lived sense of his client's feeling depressed. Having allowed this affective disposition to register within his own experience, S. then wondered to himself if the client was having nightmares, if he could not fall asleep, and so forth. These possibilities were imagined by S. through the awakening of his

knowledge regarding the vicissitudes of sleep disturbances; and, as possibilities of human experience, they were held in view as anticipatory horizons for his subsequent perceptions of the client: S. said that he would "try to fill in" the particular nature of his client's sleep disturbance as he further developed his global impression. Later, S. remembered feeling that the client really needed someone to talk to. He recalled "feeling a sense of" the client's "inner chaos — horrible feelings and confusion." This feeling of himself in the place of the client was lived prethematically by S: only after the interview did he look back and thematize this sense of the client's experience.

For S., the initial imaging of his client occurred during a phone conversation. What first stood out was the style of the expression: "he just sounded very distant, almost as though I was talking to an insurance salesman ... very businesslike ... one of the reasons it stood out was that I'm not used to it here." This reveals a spontaneous perceptual tendency toward the unusual and, at the same time, a tendency toward explicating the unusual in terms of the familiar. Also, in light of S.'s self-described gentle, receptive style of moving toward others, it appears that hearing a distant businesslike voice became a salient feature of S.'s perception to the extent that it stood out against his own preferred style of sociality. S's perception of his client's voice was further adumbrated by his attunement to the affective quality of the voice as "cold, mistrustful." What was first perceived as businesslike and physiognomically distant was elaborated by S. as feeling cold to him. (A variation would be physiognomic "closeness" feeling "warm" to the psychologist.) S. consequently experienced the client, on the basis of the cold affective tonality of his voice, as being "mistrustful." So, under his psychodiagnostic gaze, there was a spontaneous explicative movement from the physiognomic to the affective to the characterization of the client in terms of interpersonal dynamics — in this instance, a dynamic which became uniquely thematic for this psychologist in the context of his own social style. In addition, he heard the client's slow speech over the phone as the speech of someone who was somewhat depressed. S. used this term descriptively (rather than diagnostically) to refer to the "slowed-down" quality of the client's disposition as perceived in the physiognomy of his speech, that is, in its slowness. The movement from physiognomy to disposition is itself an empathic elaboration on the part of the perceiver. Although grounded in the psy-

chologist's prepredicative receptive experience, the image of the client as depressed was already a movement toward explication, i.e., toward a predicative act of interpretation.

Apperception and simple recognition. There are simple acts of physiognomic explication as well as acts of recognition in which there is a non-deliberate, associative relating of the client to persons seen in the past. Understanding the client can thus involve a spontaneous awakening of sedimented knowledge about similar kinds of people. There are also explications that occur concomitantly to listening to the client's story, in which the psychologist simply registers the client's own self-description while explicating the client's expressive behavior in simple, everyday terms. All of these explications are "simple" to the extent that there is not yet any striving to arrive by contemplation at a more formal understanding of the client. Simple explications, like empathic images, are correlates of a receptive regard in which there is a more passive genesis of meaning.

Illustration. S. described a need "to know what I am looking at" precisely in order to understand his client and thereby perform his duties as a psychologist, i.e., to make "an educated guess as to the course this is going to run." To this end, he found himself informed by the "different histories" he had with different kinds of patients. These histories were "there" for S. as "part of the whole atmosphere" or background against which the client became seen as a particular *kind* of figure. In general, he neither deliberately seeks such comparisons, not does he become explicitly present to the past experiences themselves. Rather, he described the "histories" with other clients as constituting a certain feeling he gets during the interview with the present client: "there's a feeling of 'I've been here before.'" There is no information processing going on here in S.'s experience; that is, he is clearly not trying to form cognitive associations from the perception he has of the client. The clue to the nature of his experience of the "histories" with other people is to be found in his repeated use of the word "feeling." He is not *thinking* about the client in terms of past experiences; rather, in his original perceptual-affective receiving of the client into his experience, he *feels* something familiar about the client: "it's there in my perception of him, but I don't think explicitly about all the other people." Moreover, for S., this horizon of past experiences is relevant to him in the context of an assessment interview, but "doesn't fit in" with his perceptual expe-

rience of others such as car mechanics and grocery store cashiers. This implies that the horizon of past experiences, while essentially latent in any perceptual act, becomes relevant only if motivated by a genuine interest in the present object of perception. The presence of the "histories" in S.'s experience of his present client is constituted, then, by his psychodiagnostic interest in the client. The horizon of past experiences includes not only S.'s histories with other clients, but his general acquaintance with kinds of individuals. For example, in describing his client's voice as "businesslike," S. was hearing his client as speaking in the more general manner that belongs to businessmen and professionals; that is, S. recognized a general style of expression which the client's particular manner was like. More concretely, the client's manner of speaking was "like" S.'s prior phone conversations with insurance salesmen. To experience the new voice as "businesslike" implies that S.'s past experiences were part of the context of his listening and that S. was seeing a similarity between the voice he was listening to and a kind or type of voice he had encountered in the past. In describing the voice in terms of this type, S. was using the familiar to understand the unfamiliar. That is, in order to have articulated his perception of the client's voice as businesslike, S. must first have "constituted" the meaning of the voice in terms of what was already familiar to him through past experience. To perceive the client as a *kind* of person requires familiarity with kinds of people: prior knowledge or acquaintance with kinds of people against which to compare a present perception. To the extent that this comparison is spontaneous, it can be called an "apperception."

Typification. In synthesizing images of the client into explicative impressions, the psychologist moves from the individual in his or her givenness to an understanding of the general/typical meanings of that givenness. This movement is achieved by seeing concrete events described by the client or observed by the psychologist as examples of general psychological phenomena that are known in advance by the psychologist. Such foreknowledge is a horizon of psychodiagnostic seeing that makes possible explications in which the psychologist recognizes the general meaning "in" the particular event. It is through such generalizations that the psychologist is able to specify his or her comprehension of the client. What is distinctive about this is the contemplative shift from a simple perception of the client's presentations to a specifi-

cally psychological explication of the general, abstract meanings that can be seen in those same presentations. The psychologist's reaching beyond the client's self-presentation to grasp psychological meanings can occur either spontaneously, as in simple acts of recognition, or deliberately, as the result of an active striving.

Illustration. In his empathic presence to the client, S. was allowing a "first level" meaning to be constituted by the client's own description. Later, there was a movement in S.'s consciousness from the concrete level of events to a higher level of abstraction which was founded upon the concrete situation. When S. reflected on the lived meanings described by the client, this reflection took him into the second level of "abstraction" where concrete elements were understood as traits—that is, as instances of behavioral styles that could be referred to in a more general way, for example, "the client is very self-effacing." In such instances, S. was constituting the meaning of the client's lived experience by "seeing" the psychological meaning that was inherent in the client's expression—in effect, by moving from the meaning of the experience *for the client* to the meaning of the client's experience *for the psychologist.* Such shifts occurred continuously throughout the interview, in a back-and-forth movement between the two "levels" of understanding:

> He never came out and said to me, "I don't have a mutual relationship." He never came out and said to me, "My self-esteem is lousy," But he did say things like, "I just don't feel like I've accomplished anything in life." I think that you have to break it down. There are times when it's a deliberate act and there are times when it's more implicit. I sometimes found myself deliberately trying to listen to everything that he was saying and seeing where I could push it, in the sense of trying to grasp some theme . . . . That's different from what happens naturally, in which I'm not striving after it. But I find that, I'll be damned, that happens a lot of times and the interpretations I make will come out of it . . . . So if he says things like, "The other person is just so much better than me," I remember it, and then I kind of try to take that to a level of generalization or abstraction which would go along the lines of, "He has real low self-esteem." He hasn't *told* me that; that's my synthesis of

> maybe . . . three or four things that he said that are separated by other things. But in my own mind, I'm looking for threads. And raising them to that level of working knowledge that I use to guide my own thinking . . . and I go back to the person and I say, "I think *this* is what's happening." And it has to do with all the issues that come up in peoples' lives . . . people don't come in and tell these things to me; they tell me events . . . . But I can't stay with that level of concreteness. I have to use that as an example of some psychological thing which ties in with all kinds of other things . . . it *is* them, expressed in a different way.

The themes that became part of the framework of S.'s understanding were "second order" to the extent that they were "grasped in a reaching beyond what the client was explicitly saying, toward a "hypothesis." This could either occur "naturally" (spontaneously) or as the result of a deliberate striving on S.'s part. In the latter case, S. was seeking an understanding of the "why" of the client's experience and behavior: "perhaps he's doing this because ...." The "because" implies an interest in relating the expressed experiences of the client to an implicit framework. For S.2, this relating took the form of a re-languaging of the client's statements into more general psychological themes, for example, self-esteem. Likewise, S.1's primary intent was to understand the client's story, that is, how he saw himself and "where he was at"; and, just as for S.1, this involved both listening to what the client expressed and at the same time finding ways of improving on the client's self-description. Although S.1 really wanted "to see it as (the client) sees it," he ultimately articulated the client's experience as he saw it, according to his own "outline" of what he was looking for. For both subjects, then, the interest in the client's self-understanding became subordinated to the psychologist's own "outline" (S.1) or "framework" (S.2) of understanding.

Integration. As the psychologist's clinical impressions develop, there is a synthesis of the various profiles of the client. The psychologist does not merely add together separate themes, but *com*-prehends them as *belonging together*: it is in the relation of one theme to another that the psychologist discovers the psychological significance that he or she seeks. Psychodiagnostic seeing is distinctive in this regard, namely, that it posits (believes in) the

interrelatedness of the various explications of the individual. A configural grasp of themes can be the result of a deliberate striving to establish meaningful relationships, or it can be the result of a more sudden, passive genesis of meaning. In either case, psychodiagnostic seeing is lived as an interest in holding the various impressions together around a central integrative explication ("diagnostic impression") that serves to establish a meaningful connection between the themes disclosed during the interview. Psychodiagnosticians thus seek to explicate their various perceptions in such a way as to integrate them into one coherent whole.

Illustration. Transitions where the client moved from one topic to another were understood by S.1 as signifying a relationship between the two topics. He perceived the theme of the death of his client's grandmother *in the context* of the antecedent presenting complaint about "anxiety attacks," rather than treating it as a separate topic altogether: "the sequence is important." What stood out as particularly salient and important for S. was something that at face value would seem to be quite removed from the presenting complaint but which followed the latter in the sequence of his client's story. What is striking about this is that it was clearly S.1 who constituted the subsequent theme as psychodiagnostically relevant, and not the subsequent theme itself which in and of itself appeared to S. as relating to its antecedent theme. S.'s constitutive attitude toward the transition appears to be a belief in the implicit relationship between the two themes; moreover, it was this belief, this positing of a connection, that was constitutive of how S. understood the themes. His seeing appears here as a search for significance between two profiles of the client. What was important to S. was not the sequence itself, but the relationship established by the sequence. That is, the sequence established for S. the kinship of the two themes, in contradistinction to the remoteness that would otherwise be perceived to exist between them. "One of the hypotheses that I make is that the first event that comes up following the presenting complaint somehow is going to relate to it. And this seems like a kind of event that is quite removed so that it makes it stand out even more for me."

S.2 also revealed an interest in integrating themes from the assessment interview. Diagnostic listening was "work" in the sense that he was not merely accepting information as it came up, but was actively "building" a concrete data base by "listening for clues" that would "build into" his hypotheses. This reveals that

there was a structure or framework to his psychodiagnostic seeing: a *ground* upon which he was building a data base. S. had to consider the multiplicity of meanings of his client's statements in order to hit upon a "clue" that would clarify or elaborate what he already understood about his client, and thus "build into" his hypotheses. By the end of the interview, he felt that he was able to articulate a "framework" of the client's experience. This framework consisted of "a certain amount of knowledge about him" that S. described as "second order" explications. The integration of themes was for S. a higher order explication that brought together other explications into one coherent understanding or "framework."

CONCLUSION

This research into the formation of clinical impressions has approached this phenomenon as a human activity and, in doing so, has hopefully been more faithful to the fully human dimensions of psychodiagnosis than recent studies which have approached it as a matter of information-processing. The clinical versus statistical controversy has compared the clinician with the computer, and has discovered that computers are more reliable and efficient because they rely on a mathematical decision-making approach. Even if clinicians cannot work as efficiently as the computers, the "statistical" side of the controversy argues that clinicians could at least become as reliable as computers if they would limit themselves to mathematical formulae for the combination of data. The problem is that such an approach would no longer be true to the human experience of psychodiagnostic seeing as it was revealed by this study. The creative, contemplative explications revealed by the data are part of what has been called the "art" of assessment. Rather than following prescribed "decision trees" to arrive at personality description, psychologists were found to experience a synthesis or "sudden gestalt" that could occur either spontaneously or as the result of a more deliberate striving. The implication is that the clinical versus statistical controversy compares apples with oranges. Thematic gestalts cannot be compared to combinations of data, no matter how complex the formula because combinations always break down into linear sequences of simple decisions, whereas the sudden "falling into place" of impressions is the function of a higher order of organization. Such gestalts or integrative

explications are thus a function of what Dilthey has called "the living artistic process of understanding" (1924/1977, p. 57).

REFERENCES

Arthur, A.Z. (1966). A decision-making approach to psychological assessment in the clinic. *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, *30*, 435-438.

Chapman, L. J., & Chapman, J. P. (1967). Genesis of popular but erroneous psychodiagnostic observations. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, *72*, 193-204.

Dilthey, W. (1977). Ideas concerning a descriptive and analytic psychology (1894). (Trans. by R. M. Zaner). In W. Dilthey, *Descriptive psychology and historical understanding*, The Hague: Nijhoff. (Original work published 1924)

Erikson, E. H. (1958). The nature of clinical evidence. *Daedalus*, 87, 65-87.

Hammond, K. R. (1966). Probablistic functioning and the clinical method. In E. I. Mergargee (Ed.), *Research in clinical assessment*. New York: Harper.

Hammond, K. R. Hursch, C. J., and Todd, F. J. (1964). Analyzing the components of clinical inference. *Psychological Review*, 71, 438-456.

Holt, R. R. (1971). *Assessing personality*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Holtzman, W. H. (1966). Can the computer supplant the clinician? In E. I. Megargee (Ed.), *Research in clinical assessment*. New York: Harper.

Husserl, E. (1973). *Experience and judgment*. (Trans. by J. S. Churchill and K. Ameriks), Evanston: Northwestern University Press. (Original work published 1948)

Lanyon, R. I. (1972). Technological approach to the improvement of decision making in mental health services. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, *39*, 43-48.

Marks, P. A., Seeman, W., & Haller, D. L. (1974). *The actuarial use of the MMPI with adolescents and adults*. Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins.

Meehl, P. E. (1954). *Clinical versus statistical prediction: A theoretical analysis and review of the evidence*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Schutz, A. (1962). *Collected papers I: The problem of social reality*. The Hague: Nijhoff.

Sullivan, H. S. (1954). *The psychiatric interview*. New York: Norton.

CORPULENCE AND CORPOREALITY: PHENOMENOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE INTESTINAL BYPASS PATIENT

Donald Moss*

This chapter will present a phenomenological analysis of the experiences of a group of obese medical patients, in order to illuminate the psychology of the body and of obesity. Phenomenological method and the phenomenological theory of embodiment have a significant contribution to make to research and praxis in the fields of holistic health and behavioral medicine. I will review the history and approach of *phenomenological research* on health and disease, and demonstrate the approach by a discussion of research on intestinal bypass patients.

Several studies on massively obese individuals have found features of neuroticism, impaired ego functioning, poor self-concept, and deficient self-awareness (Bray, 1973; Bruch, 1973; Castelnuovo-Tedesco & Schiebel, 1975, 1976; Conrad, 1954; Fink, 1962; Hamburger, 1951; Karp & Pardes, 1965; Schachter, 1971). At a weight of 250-500 pounds, physical impairment and social stigma converge to create a radical insult to identity. Feminist authors have highlighted the social and cultural meaning of obesity for women, and the central place of physical appearance in women's identity (Chernin, 1981; Eichenbaum & Orbach, 1982; Orbach, 1978).

The present phenomenological study will highlight the characteristic temporality and arrested development encountered in the intestinal bypass population. The experience of social stigma among these patients will also be explored, with attention to the unusual social and bodily space inhabited by the obese. Both the arrested temporal development and the experience of stigma threaten the individuation process in the obese, undermining any solid sense of self or personhood. The chapter will conclude with a case example, showing the alleviation of the above factors in a

* Haight Clinic, 109 S. Jackson, Spring Lake, Michigan 49456. This research was supported by the Satunton Clinic, University of Pittsburgh Health Center, and assisted by the cooperation of the Departments of Surgery at Montefiore and Shadyside Hospitals, Pittsburgh.

professional woman at mid-life, following surgically induced weight loss.

Phenomenological psychological investigation proceeds from an empirical data base. In this study interviews were conducted with over 100 morbidly obese individuals scheduled to undergo elective intestinal bypass surgery to induce weight loss. The patients typically weighed at least twice their ideal weight—usually 250-500 pounds. Briefly, this operation constructs a bypass or shunt between the stomach and the large bowel. Specifically, a cut is made through the jejunum and this piece of jejunum serves as a shunt carrying food directly to the ileum near the entrance to the colon. Food passes through only 18 inches of small bowel instead of the usual 21 feet. Transit time is reduced from one and a half hours to ten minutes, with a corresponding reduction in the caloric absorption normally taking place in the small bowel. Weight loss, as well as numerous annoying and often hazardous side effects, are the result. In the event of life-threatening problems, the continuity of the intestines is restored and the weight is regained. This procedure remains controversial and is regarded as a treatment of last resort for carefully screened individuals who have exhausted all other means of weight loss and whose physical and emotional health are seriously threatened by continuing obesity (Winkelman, *et al*, 1974, 1975).

Surgical intervention cannot be regarded as a desirable holistic form of treatment for obesity. Nevertheless, the experiences of these patients offer an abundance of material illuminating the body-mind nexus so crucial throughout behavioral medicine.

The intimate link between the body and the experience of self has long been recognized. William James, (1890), for example, in his remarkable chapter in the *Principles* on "The Consciousness of Self," begins with the body as the central constituent in our material self, but also goes on to identify the spiritual self to a great extent with our subtle bodily motions and experiences. Phenomenological authors have found the medical clinic and the experience of the impaired or morbid body to be the best mode of access for illuminating those bodily experiences referred to by James. The intestinal bypass is doubly suitable in this sense—because of both the original experience of obesity and the current experience of rapid surgically induced physical change which ripples in its effect throughout the whole of life. Background aspects of bodily experience which we normally take for granted stand out conspicuously

for these patients. Their physical impairment and social stigma are of such magnitude that few achieve any solid sense of individuality or selfhood.

The 250-500 pound patient frequently experiences himself or herself as "hardly human," as "like something from outer space," or as "the biggest person who ever lived." Patients frequently explain their decision for surgery by expressing a desire to "rejoin the human race," or to cease feeling like a "freak." With weight loss some patients experience themselves explicitly as "normal again" and others report the return of "natural movement" and "natural activity." They once again experience spontaneous, taken for granted and self-forgetful movement, which no longer required persistent deliberate planning and laborious effortful performance.

Let us turn to a retrospective description by "Candy," a 39 year old professional woman, one year post-op, describing the difference weight loss has made in her life:

> I think everything was different. To feel totally encased in something that immobilizes you is such a frightening feeling that it overwhelms you constantly, because you have to deal with it in everything that you do ... in going to the bathroom, going to bed, getting up ... it is never something that you can put aside or put an end to—until you actively do something about it. And I speak of it from the point of view of immobilization because that is just how I felt. To feel that everything you did had to be consciously planned, consciously thought of, and consciously done—there was nothing I could do naturally that other people could do. "She can walk up those stairs." I have got to put one foot in front of the other and consciously do so—so that I can make it up those stairs ... "There are only half of them left." And when you live with that 24 hours a day, there is no nostalgia for that, there is not. When sitting, standing, moving, the things that all human beings do and need to do—to feel that you are almost not human because you can't do those ... and to feel that you are not human—when from here up, in fact, you must have—I feel like (I know I sound like I'm an egomaniac) but I just feel like I'm a competent person, and from here down I'm an incompetent person. So what do you do? You mourn for it and

grieve for the fact that you cannot do what you need to do and want to do—and I mean mourn and grieve over being immobilized. I could not deal with that.

PHENOMENOLOGICAL METHOD

Throughout this century researchers in philosophy, psychiatry, neurology, physiology, and internal medicine have applied the phenomenological approach and interpretive framework to the investigation of the experience of the human body in normal and morbid states, and the characteristic forms of spatiality and temporality accompanying various disease entities. From the phenomenological perspective health and disease are not simply physiological facts; rather, each involves characteristic qualities in the individual's relation to this environment, in the way his life cycle unfolds, and in the relationships to the family and social world.

Contributions have been made in this area by Boss, van den Berg, Straus, Plugge, and many others. Boss, for example, characterized the total haleness and wholeness of the healthy individual as an openness to the world, a receptivity to its beck and call (Boss, 1954, 1975). Van den Berg beautifully portrayed the transformations in how man experiences his body during different historical periods, and the concomitant changes in the practice and concept of medicine (van den Berg, 1961a, 1961b, 1966). Straus described the essential experience of the body as *my own*, and further, the disruption of this experience in illness, when disease appears as a foreign power or entity attacking and overpowering one (Straus, 1967, 1969). Plugge developed general concepts of well being and ill being, which are in a certain sense experiential equivalents of Selye's general stress theory (Plugge, 1962, 1967, 1970).

Given the current interest of American psychologists in the areas of "health psychology," "holistic health," and "behavioral medicine," it is not surprising that phenomenological studies of health related topics should proliferate in America as well. Giorgi (1970, 1975) and Fischer (1974) have characterized the empirical phenomenological method insofar as it is a method of gathering and analyzing data. Phenomenology also provides a method and orientation of thought, a mode of reflecting on one's data base, of sifting through facts and statements, in order to discover their inner sense and coherence. As such, phenomenology has some spe-

cial contributions to make in the area of behavioral medicine.

Phenomenology begins by suspending what the French novelist Flaubert called the "passionate need to draw conclusions" ("la rage de voulior conclure") (Binswanger, 1958). The greatest danger in seeking knowledge about morbid or abnormal behavior is the temptation to remain constant with merely a diagnosis or judgement, at which we characterize what is wrong, sick or deficient in a behavior. For example, we might simply catalogue the variety of ways in which an obese population or a group of back pain patients avoid or minimize awareness or ownership of their own bodies, and disavow their own participation and responsibility in their illness. Too much is now known, however, about the metabolic "Catch 22's"—the pathological homeostatic mechanisms serving to sustain a state of morbid obesity—to waste time discussing the abdication of responsibility by the obese. When any human being weighs 400-500 pounds, the interlocking physiological and psychological forces resisting sustained weight loss are formidable, and the results of even the best inter-disciplinary behavioral treatment programs are discouraging (cf., Wooley, Wooley, & Dyrenforth, 1980). Much psychological research on physical impairment remains at this level of cataloguing deficits. For the phenomenologist, however, this is only the beginning. For the phenomenologist the challenge arises: How can we stay with our data, with our behavioral observations and the verbal reports of our subjects, and penetrate into their own lived perspective? How can we enter into the terrain of the obese patient, to graphically experience and comprehend his world just as he does, such that the most idiosyncratic and unusual behavior can be seen as a way of living the meanings of the present situation? For example, what is this 340 pound woman's experience of the world such that she is furtively sneaking along a back street, evading any glance at bystanders, clutching at her over-warm bulky sweater on a summer day, and seeming to engage in an almost invisible dialogue with herself?

In summary, the phenomenologist begins with the recognition that "human life is to be comprehended as a meaningful whole, in which all particular features have to fulfill a necessary function, and in which they can thus be understood as meaningful?" (Bollnow, 1966, p. 35). Phenomenological psychology is thus defined not by any emphasis on a particular content—such as cognitions, behaviors, or nerve physiology—but rather by its orientation

and dedication to the meaningful interconnections among activities at all levels of the human organism and its world.

TIME AND THE LIFE CYCLE

Phenomenological authors have highlighted the temporal unfolding of human existence (Heidegger, 1927/1962; Minkowski, 1970; Straus, 1982). This next section will address the time dimension in intestinal bypass patients. Consider an observation: Obese individuals rarely seek intestinal bypass surgery entirely for objective, medical reasons. At the time of psychological screening, many declare emphatically: "I'm here because my doctor sent me," or "I'm 100 pound overweight and diabetic, that's reason enough." But within the course of the interview, other facts emerge. For example, the physician recommended surgery intermittently over a five year period and the patient is actually less overweight; or less diabetic than previously, but only now seeks surgery. The immediate precipitating factor in the decision to seek surgery lies somewhere else, in a crisis in the individual's movement through his life cycle.

Maurice Merleau-Ponty, the French phenomenologist, observed that in illness the body becomes "the place where life hides away" (1945/1962, p. 164). That is, some aspect in the stream of life, in one's movement toward the future, becomes impeded, arrested, and tied up in a bodily symptom. The intestinal bypass patient population provides numerous examples.

Several patients were at transition points in their life cycle, of the kind Gail Sheehy popularized in *Passages* (1976). Candy, a university professor who had long managed to achieve her own professional goals and a modicum of self-satisfaction, encountered difficulties in obtaining tenure. She interpreted these difficulties in relation to her slowing down and feeling more incapacitated and encumbered by her weight of late, and underwent a personal crisis: "I came to a screeching halt." Several male patients were explicitly blocked in job advancement (e.g., "You can't climb around on a locomotive at my weight"). Many younger patients appeared stuck between adolescence and adulthood, with difficulties either in forming marital relationships, or in becoming self-supporting. One woman desperately wanted children, but suffered a weight-related amenorrhea. For others, some event finally brought home the admission that life itself was now endangered,

through worsening diabetes, a stroke, or cardiac problems. In the most global terms, one very depressed and emotionally impoverished 415 pound woman simply stated: "I want to have a future ... I don't have a future ... I'm living a heck of a life now." Finally, several patients went through elaborate preparations for death prior to undergoing surgery—preparing wills, purchasing insurance policies, and straightening up personal affairs. They preferred to face death rather than live in a hopeless body.

In the search for change, the obese individual's hopes, dreams, and expectations for the future become materialized and fixed in somatic form. When dissatisfactions erupt within his present situation, and the individual casts about for a way to remedy the situation, weight loss or other somatic change appears to offer the desired change. Not only is *change* itself conceptualized in somatic form, but also the *means to change.* The authorities on change in these patients' eyes are physicians, nurses, nutritionists, and other experts on somatic matters. Seeking personal renewal and existential change, these patients draw on an entire panoply of physical means, including: amphetamines, steam cabinets, electrical stimulators, and even injections of the urine of pregnant women. The intestinal bypass itself is the ultimate in seeking an existential change by physical means.

Even when the obese individual requests the help of a psychologist, his attention and energy are often incorrigibly riveted to the weight loss itself, thus creating a corresponding blindness to other aspects of the situation in which change is desired.

If we are to effectively intervene with such obese patients, in a holistic fashion, it is essential to comprehend:

1. *what aspects of life* are impeded by the physical problem
2. *what developmental task or tasks* the patient is seeking to achieve through surgically or medically induced change,
3. *what latent resources* the patient possesses in this area of life, and
4. *what we might do* to facilitate a more direct and effective approach to life changes.

In other words, how does the current, seemingly physical crisis and corresponding request for medical help fit into the larger life cycle and developmental goals of the individual?

However controversial intestinal bypass surgery remains, it does succeed, in a large proportion of those patients without debilitating side effects, in creating favorable conditions for personal change. Obesity is a physical and social stressor, and its alleviation relieves the overall burden on many patients sufficiently for them to risk and often to succeed in navigating desired personal changes. Further, such a prolonged period of substantial physical change creates a crisis condition analogous to adolescence and favorable for personal change.

Those bypass patients, who have traversed the initial 12-24 month phase of weight loss, physical side effects, and emotional adjustment, frequently report that they are more confident, more able to "hold my own," to "live my own life," to cease living for and through others, and "to be a person myself." Spontaneous increases in personal assertiveness in fact contribute to the post-op marital problems frequently reported (cf., Neill, Marshall, & Yale, 1978). Overall, there is a sense of rejoining the mainstream of life with all its challenges and gratifications: "I'm not sure if it's easier being a blimp or a person. It's more fun being a person but not easier" (Solow, Silberfarb, & Swift, 1974, p. 302).

THE WORLD OF THE OBESE

Let us return to our earlier theme of bodily awareness and the experience of self. If we accept the testimony of so many of the bypass patients, that the simple fact of weight loss played a major role in their establishment of a more solid sense of self, and of a more self-directed style of behavior, then how are we to understand the link between massive obesity and individuality? Phenomenological research has illuminated disturbances in human individuality by exploring alterations in the individual's relation to his or her world. Transformations in bodily space and in one's interpersonal field are intimately connected with impairments in identity and self-awareness (Binswanger, 1958; Straus, 1969; van den Berg, 1972).

I would like to convey a graphic picture or image of the obese individual and his or her world. As scientists we do not ordinarily think in images. However, a picture can be integrative for research, drawing together a wealth of discrete facts and observations. Further, such an image can greatly assist one toward an empathic understanding of the adjustments an individual must

make in going form fat to thin.

The reader is invited to picture an individual, let us say a woman, uncomfortable in her own impaired and devalued body, at times struggling not to reside in her body, yet unable to ever fully leave her body behind. Inescapably aware of her body's factual visibility and reality for others, she nevertheless seeks to hide, disguise, or camouflage her connection with this body. She endeavors to evade, dodge, deflect, ignore, or sometimes simply endure the myriad reflections of herself impinging upon her from all directions. Avoidance behaviors are prominent at all levels of the behavioral repertoire of the obese. The surrounding world and most of its inhabitants are perceived as unsympathetic, dangerous, hostile and alien, requiring constant vigilance and protective maneuvering. At one level, this woman in our picture experiences everyone else as taking cruel potshots at her, but at a deeper level she blames herself, feels guilty, and regards the potshots as mere reflections of herself in the mirror of the world.

The fact of her obesity remains central in her own consciousness; this requires continual efforts on her own part to avoid or diminish the hurt of this awareness. Her physical discomfort, burden, and incapacity are self-absorbing in themselves. Further, her perception of the world around her is permeated by references back to this same immense fact of obesity. She perceives her world in terms of narrow places to be traversed, tight fits, and steep staircases. Normal objects and clothing are not made to her size. Obese women shop at Lane Bryants. At Montefiore Hospital, Pittsburgh, the bypass patients stood in line with laundry carts to be weighed. Several subjects put great emphasis on the shame and pain of being singled out continuously as different; yet many simply accepted these indignities as part of life. Society itself is also perceived as divided in terms of weight; attitudes toward others are largely governed by their relative fatness or thinness. Whole areas of the world are avoided: regions of shame, areas such as sports fields where physical incapacity will stand out, and areas such as beaches and nightclubs where a woman's body will be revealed or spotlighted. Further, this obese vision of the world in terms of weight and breadth persists even after weight loss. A full year after it appeared that her body image adjustment was adequate, one of my subjects experienced an attack of anxiety and shame upon viewing the narrow seats of an airliner.

To return to the picture outlined earlier, we might image this

hypothetical obese woman as imprisoned in a hall of mirrors, each of which points back to her more primary imprisonment in a stigmatized and devalued body. By the way, social stigma and physical incapacity appear to converge and overlap in the experience of obesity as devaluing.

The bypass patients presented many literal instances of preoccupation with and avoidance of mirrors. Subjects reported avoiding full length mirrors, looking, "so as not really to see," crying in the mirror, and avoiding catching sight of themselves in shop windows. Similarly one woman displayed a family album in which all snapshots of herself cut off everything below the neck.

Obese individuals in general have been described as using cognitive mechanisms involving avoidance: denial, repression, disownership, disavowal, even depersonalization. The body itself is often explicitly disowned in a variety of ways: It may be described in impersonal thing-language: as "not-me," as "this thing I am encased in," as "this stuff I am trucking around." The body maybe divided along various lines—head/body, front/back, outside/inside, left/right—one part to be owned, emphasized, and focused upon as me, and the remainder of the body to be deemphasized, excluded from discussion and awareness, or explicitly highlighted and disowned as "not me." There is an active presentation process even in the refusal to be identified with certain parts of the body. Deeply alienated from her own body, the obese individual is nevertheless forced to manage, carry, and display that body through its presentation to others. Personality and coping styles vary, but the task remains the same.

Even the more passive obese individuals present their appearance to us in a way that selectively directs our attention toward or away form this or that aspect of their appearance. They decide, as it were, which aspects of their appearance they are or aren't going to inhabit under our gaze, and exhibit to our gaze. Notice here that exhibiting and inhabiting are closely linked, that the bodily presentation to the other also involves some nascent self-recognition and ownership. Elsewhere I have addressed the experiential significance of *inhabiting one's body* (Moss, 1982).

The language of these patients reveals a variety of avoidance behaviors—linguistic means for coping with the wounding reflections of an unsympathetic world. A few examples will be presented here, but the reader is also referred to Moss (1982). One woman was humiliated at her immense backside to the extent

that she would lean into the mirror so as never to view more than her attractive front. Nevertheless, powerfully aware that this rear bulk was visible to others, she anticipated any attention or remarks, by an exaggerated jiggling of her rump as she entered a room, and by a joking comments such as—"here I am and here comes the caboose," "look at that shelf," or "my disgusting ass." In these examples there is a peculiar appropriation going on. She directs our gaze to her deficits; she lifts them out of the background and displays them. "Ass" and "caboose" are used in such a way that they express disgust or ridicule on one level, yet at the same time deflect it. She has thereby shifted the locus of control back to herself. She remains helplessly visible, but has captured the others' eyes and now directs them. The rear of her body will be languaged as object, but as *her* object, and she will language it herself.

One recurrent and revealing linguistic pattern is worthy of discussion. Many obese patients utilize a peculiar form of double negative in languaging their bodies, thereby executing a complicated avoidance of body ownership. Attention to this pattern will tell us much about the dense structure of the bodily and interpersonal space of the obese, about the peculiar structure of their involvement in the world. Examples: "I have never not been feminine," "I have never not had a shape," "I have never not been accepted." In a subtler form of these remarks, a pejorative takes the place of the second negative: "At least I am not grotesque," "I'm not your basic fat lady," "Well I'm not the biggest blimp in our church." We must break up these statements if we are to understand the structure of the experience involved: "not feminine," "not accepted," "no shape," "grotesque," "basic fat lady," and "biggest blimp in our church" are the primary constituents of this experience, which the individual must come to terms with. As pejoratives each of them is a negation of the individual's worth, even if the grammatical negation is not present.

Let us again relate these observations to the picture I sketched out earlier. These negations seem to impinge on the obese individual, like vectors or missiles from *over there*—from the environment and those around one, and yet potentially they have to do with oneself. They are like so many reflections in a mirror. One can hate the mirror, shun it, shatter it, or notice someone else in it, yet the primary revelation of the mirror is never fully obliterated. For example, the world shows a woman that some obese

women are unfeminine, shapeless, grotesque blobs: the woman may respond by owning her weight problems, or by anticipating and deflecting this extreme negation. To express this concretely, the individual sees this reflected revelation coming, and sidesteps verbally, allowing it to pass by or apply to someone else. "I may be fat, but at least I'm not as big as her." (This pattern of speech involves a defensive rejection of *that which I must not be*, and reflects a potential for crippling neuroticism in the social visibility of the obese).

This absorption with reflected negations also plays a significant role in blocking the further forward movement of the obese in their own life cycle. With weight loss the individual may still grapple with refuting these negations for months and years before genuine, spontaneous positive self-feelings emerge, if they ever do. "I don't not like what I see in the mirror," "I don't look as bad as before," and "I'm not such an overgrown horse anymore" are experiential phases which must often be traversed before one reaches the phase of: "I enjoy looking in the mirror," or "I feel sexy." While it lasts, this absorption with reflected negations also entails a pre-occupation with others' opinion and attention. Long after others have ceased to perceive an individual as corpulent, she will continue her monotonous vigilance for references to her weight. As Ludwig Binswanger wrote of his famous case, Ellen West, these obese individuals have alienated the center of gravity of their existence onto the *Mitwelt*, the world of fellow humans (Binswanger, 1958). To return to our pictorial image, these patients, having lived most of their lives in the middle of a firing range, experience difficulty in ceasing to play "Dodge-'em."

CONCLUSION: A CASE EXAMPLE

Since this paper has endeavored to convey a picture of the situation of the obese individual, it seems appropriate to end with a portrait of Candy, the same professional woman quoted at length earlier. She was 39 at the time of the operation, happily married, a mother to two children, and successful in her academic career. Yet at 336 pounds, she found life a fatiguing labor, avoided cameras, full-length mirrors, and her physician. She described her body as "it," "that body," and "that former thing that used to be me." Much energy was expended in continuously persuading herself, by inner dialogue, of her own worth. Prior to en-

tering a faculty meeting, she went through an elaborate preparation process:

> I disembodied myself in a way in a professional situation ... You know I really think and feel that I did not take this body in there, this particular one. Because I had just as much if not more to offer than many of the other people in that room and there was no reason for me to feel that I needed to be a second class citizen kind of thing in situations like that. That is what I mean by almost disembodying myself from this particular body ... Before I used to think ... I have no reason to feel second rate — no actual reason in this situation ... Yes I would actually tell myself that.

Disembodying herself meant mentally refusing others' opinions, perceptions, and judgments concerning the visible aspects of her person and body. She also declared emphatically to herself, over and over, that other people would lose out, not her, if they reacted to her appearance and not to who she "really" was or what she had to offer.

Her self-descriptions suggested a prominent division in her body and self-image along the lines head vs. body. She placed emphasis on what she called "head activities," personality, intellection, and teaching skills, with a corresponding de-emphasis on body activities. When she did look in a mirror, her experience was that "I have pretty hair, and I take care of it; and I'm very pleased with my intellectual functioning as well."

Analysis of transcripts shows her cognitive style to be sharply dualistic articulating her feelings and observations rigidly, predominantly by means of a sharp contrast against what she does not think, feel and observe. She aggressively defined herself, again predominantly by means of a sharp rejection of what she is *not*. Her attitude of utter disavowal for her previous life and body (e.g., "I rejected that former thing that used to be me") reveal this black and white style, as did her former means of coping with her obese state by drawing sharp dualistic lines between me and not me, and between this body and "my true worth."

Candy's adjustment with weight loss was relatively smooth. Although she intermittently experienced considerable depression and irritability, she felt that her marriage and relationships with the children were deepened and marked by greater emotional hon-

esty. She is now taking some uncharacteristic risks in her professional life, trading security for challenge. She also became more aware, in the third year post-op, of her femininity and sexuality; she began to enjoy herself as a woman, and exhibited a gentler, more sensitive manner—less compulsively factual about everything.

REFERENCES

Binswanger, L. (1958), The case of Ellen West. In R. May, E. Angel., & H.F. Ellenberger (Eds.), *Existence: A new dimension in psychiatry and psychology*. (pp. 237-364). New York: Basic Books.

Bollnow, O.F. (1966), *Krise and neuer Anfang* [Crisis and new beginning]. Heidelberg: Quelle and Meyer.

Boss, M. (1954). *Einfuhrung in die psychosomatische Medizin* [Introduction to psychosomatic medicine]. Bern and Stuttgart.

Boss, M. (1975). *Grundriss der Medizin und der Psychologie* [Foundations of Medicine and Psychology]. Bern: Verlag Hans Huber.

Bray, G.A. (Ed.) (1973). *Obesity in perspective* Bethesda, Maryland: DHEW Publications No. (NIH) 75-708.

Bruch, H. (1973). *Eating disorders: Obesity, anorexia nervosa and the patient within.* New York: Basic Books.

Castelnuovo-Tedesco, P., & Schiebel, D. (1975). Studies of superobesity: I. Psychological characteristics of superobese patients. *International Journal of Psychiatry and Medicine*, *6*, 465-480.

Castelnuovo-Tedesco, P. & Schiebel, D. (1976). Studies of superobesity: II. Psychiatric appraisal of jejuno-ileal bypass surgery. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, *133*, 25-31.

Chernin, K. (1981). *The obsession: Reflections on the tyrrany of slenderness*. New York: Harper & Row.

Conrad, S.W. (1954). The psychologic implications of overeating. *Psychiatric Quarterly*, *28*, 211-224.

Eichenbaum, L., & Orbach, S. (1982). *Understanding women: A feminist psychoanalytic approach*. New York: Basic Books.

Fink, G., Gottesfeld, H., & Glickman, L. (1962). The "superobese patient." *Journal of Hillside Hospital*, *11*, 97-119.

Fischer, W. F. (1974). On the phenomenological mode of researching "being anxious." *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology*, *4*, 405-423.

Giorgi, A. (1970). *Psychology as a human science*. New York: Harper & Row.

Giorgi, A. (1975). An application of phenomenological method in psychology. In A. Giorgi, C. Fischer, and E. Murray (Eds.). *Duquesne studies in phenomenological psychology Vol. 2* (pp. 82-103). Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press.

Hamburger, W.W. (1951). Emotional aspects of obesity. *Medical Clinics of North America*, *35*, 483-500.

Heidegger, M. (1962) (J. Macquarrie, E. Robinson, Trans.). *Being and time*. New York: Harper & Row. (Original work published 1927)

James, W. (1980). *Principles of psychology, Volume I*. New York: Holt.

Karp, S.A., & Pardes, H. (1965). Psychological differentiation in obese women. *Psychosomatic Medicine, 27*, 238-244.

Merleau-Ponty, M. (1962) (C. Smith, Trans.). *Phenomenology of perception.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. (Original work published 1945)

Minkowski, E. (1970). *Lived time: Phenomenological and psychopathological studies.* Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press.

Moss, D. (1982). Distortions in human embodiment: A study of surgically treated obesity. In R. Bruzina & B. Wilshire (Eds.), *Phenomenology, dialogues and bridges. Selected studies in Phenomenology and Existential Philosophy: Volume 8* (pp. 253-267). Albany: State University of New York Press.

Neill, J. R., Marshall, J.R., & Yale, C. E. (1978). Marital changes after intestinal bypass surgery. *Journal of the American Medical Association, 240*, 447-450.

Orbach, S. (1978). *Fat is a feminist issue.* New York: Paddington Press.

Plugge, H. (1962). *Wohlbefinden and Missbefinden* [Well-being and ill-being]. Tubingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.

Plugge, H. (1967). *Der Mensch und sein Leib* [The action space of the living body]. Salzburg: Otto Muller Verlag.

Schachter, S. (1971). Some extraordinary facts about obese humans and rats. *American Psychologist, 26*, 129-144.

Sheehy, G. (1976). *Passages: Predictable crises of adult life.* New York: Dutton.

Solow, C., Silberfarb, P. M. & Swift, K. (1974). Psychosocial affects of intestinal bypass surgery for severe obesity. *New England Journal of Medicine, 290*, 300-304.

Straus, E. (1967). *Phantom and phantasmata.* Paper presented at the 4th Lexington Conference on Phenomenology, Pure and Applied. Lexington, Kentucky.

Straus, E. (1969). Psychiatry and philosophy. In M. Natanson (Ed.), *Psychiatry and philosophy.* New York: Springer Verlag.

Straus, E. (1982). *Man, time, and world,* Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press.

van den Berg, J. H. (1961a). *The changing nature of man.* New York: W. W. Norton.

van den Berg, J. H. (1961b). *Het Menselijk lichaam* [The human body], (Vol. 2). Nijkerk: Uitgeverij G. F. Callenbach.

van den Berg, J. H. (1966). *The psychology of the sick bed.* Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press.

van den Berg, J. H. (1972). *A different existence.* Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press.

Winkelman, E. I., Schumacher, O. P., Hermann, R.E., Esselstyn, C.B., & Schwartz, R. A. (1975). Study raises questions about ileal bypass. *Journal of the American Medical Association, 231*, 126-131.

Wooley, S.C., Wooley, O. W., & Dyrenforth, S. (1980). The case against radical interventions. *American Journal of Clinical Nutrition, 33*, 465-471.

ADOLESCENT FIRST LOVE

Richard J. Alapack*

Two adolescents meet, ready to risk flowing out to each other, ripe to love in a new way. Time stops. Two alien and hitherto egocentric worlds collide, rebound, pause, and then expand to embrace and include each other. Time begins afresh. Their lives, rapt in one another, are galvanized by the shock of the collision. "We're together alone," they say, "we two against the world." A new *egoisme à deux* has emerged: their first love.

How do they contact each other? Tender, they come, but not raw. Probably each has negotiated the earliest adolescent experiments in sexual relating: first kisses, first touches, and first dates. Perhaps he has flirted his way through several crushes and flings. Maybe she has gone steady too long in order to safeguard her security. Suppose each has gone farther in terms of sexual practice than either would have imagined possible for a good boy or girl. But these past life-events do not matter. Now it is as if each, buoyant and nimble, has trapezed to a new level. However their previous involvements might have seasoned them, or their missed encounters might have left them unripened, this time it is different. In a new, strange, and uniquely unprecedented way, an other-gendered person now really matters. This original experience, the first significant attachment in the life of the adolescent who has lived in us all, is the subject matter of this investigation. I will attempt to track this phenomenon faithfully with a rigorous phenomenologically based descriptive/reflective method. (Giorgi, 1970).

METHOD

The touchstones of this study are my personal "circumspective presentiment" (Hart, 1968, p. 93) and theoretical foreunderstanding about the meaning of first love. The first act which I practiced to execute this research was to confront and comprehend the implications of my personal struggles to love. Kierkegaard has persuaded me that a passionately engaged and rigor-

* Department of Psychology, St. Jerome's College, Waterloo, Ontario, Canada N2L3G3

ously disciplined self-understanding is the *sine qua non* for any unprejudiced, balanced psychological interrogation. He reiterates the Socratic injunction "Know thyself," and extends it with the conviction that "if you know one, you know all" (Kierkegaard, 1980, p. 79). Nordentoff (1978) elaborates the negative consequence: "If the observer does not know himself, his understanding of the surrounding world will be an unreflected projection of his own characteristics" (p. 5).

As a psychotherapist, I have been a privileged witness to the life stories of people of various ages. During the last thirteen years I've heard a consistent retrospective about "the mystical first love." I have marvelled at the persisting power of an old-time first love to spill over influentially into contemporary relationships, if it has not been worked through and completed. Whenever anyone comes to me with complications about their man/woman bond, either in therapy or in friendship, before I intervene I want to discover what did and did not happen when that someone loved for the first time.

In 1973 I began to collect descriptive protocols using the following research question: "Please describe the relationship you experienced with the first person whom you consider that you truly loved." Since then I have gathered personal accounts from students in my adolescent psychology course and research seminar who were guaranteed that I would treat their words with the utmost care, respect, and confidentiality.

The method which I practiced to capture the structure of first love has been threefold: (1) Hermeneutical-phenomenological self-reflection; (2) Psychotherapeutic interviewing, understood as a form of qualitative research (Kvale, 1983); (3) Empirical data collection in the firm of written protocols. Each aspect of the search casts the phenomenon into a slightly different light. Each checks and balances the other. My work has been a "progressive, cumulative, self-correcting process" (Lonergan, 1971, p. 159), leading to a structure.

I have researched appearances of first love specifically by cherishing the revelatory power of language, both in the speaking situation of psychotherapeutic "interlocution" (Lacan, 1981), and in written narratives. In addition, I also heeded Husserl's injunction to practice the method of free imaginative variation, utilizing an "irreality function" (Bachelard, 1969, p. 13) in order to amplify and reverberate images of first love. By tracking the phenom-

enon through a rigorous analysis of intentional, dialectical, noetic-noematic relationships (Giorgi, 1975), I gathered "incarnate meanings" (Lonergan, 1971, p. 73) or general structures.

When does this self-correcting process end? How does one discriminate between empirical descriptions of first love and those about infatuation or "puppy love?" From where comes the authority to say that one sees a comprehensive form, the whole? The researcher bears the responsibility to decipher data, to infuse empirical material with "poetic originality" (Kierkegaard, 1980, p. 55), and to turn full circle in order to speak about the whole in his/her own name.

The researcher discriminates from beginning to end on the basis of passionate engagement and self-understanding. Nordentoff (1978) accents the thought of Kierkegaard when he writes: "all observation is not merely a receiving, a discovery, but also a creation, and ... the decisive factor becomes how the observer himself is" (p. 4-5). The following structure is a synthesis, a joining of repeated observations which "spiral into the meaning of the whole" (Lonergan, 1971, p. 159).

Each first love is as uniquely personal as the signature of those engaged in it. My intention in depicting the relationship is twofold: to showcase its rare and individual flavor, and also to capture what is typical about it. The structure of first love should evoke both your experience and mine, but also should fit the relationship as lived by one in general.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE FIRST LOVE RELATIONSHIP

The following are the essential characteristics which differentiate first love from other intense sexual involvements. This ensemble of distinguishing earmarks should both thematize an identifiable gestalt, and also summon us to reflect what it was like to experience our own first significant sexual attachment.

Absolutes

The adolescent tends to experience the first love relationship in absolute and extreme terms. Listen to some typical expressions: "There's nothing I wouldn't do for you!" "I love everything about you." "We'll never part." "I can't get enough of you." "Nothing else matters as much as you do." "I can't remember when I didn't love you." "Our love is everything and everlasting." "It sounds

corny but truly you are the best thing that's ever happened to me." "I'll love you for always or forever whichever comes last." The experience of first love is splashed with the sense of being eternal and omnipresent.

Uniqueness

The specialness and originality of the first love tend to create the conviction that the experience is unique. Salient descriptions include: "Nobody has ever loved like we loved." "This kind of thing has only happened to us." "Look what everyone else is missing." "We are God's chosen ones, picked at perfect prime." The experience of first love is suitably captured by the Latin term, *sui generis*.

Perfection

The adolescent experiences the first love as flawless and perfect. Spontaneous exclamations bespeak the experience: "My one and only true love!" "My pure love!" "Blessed one!" "Mystical lover!" "It's heavenly!" Or, in sentence form, one male student wrote: "The feeling of loving Diane, and of knowing that Diane was in love with me, was the closest thing there could be to heaven. Nothing has come closer yet. And the incredible thing was that it kept getting stronger, more beautiful and more perfect every day." And a female student stated succinctly: "My being had been brushed with meaning." In contrast to the experienced imperfection and ambiguity of mature adult love, first time love is lived as if it were as close to perfection as possible.

Togetherness

The word "ours" dominates the language of the adolescent in love for the first time. It's our music; our poet; our spot; our moon. Everything filters through the newborn "ours." Any event, concert, movie, game, which is common property to the world, is special because it's "ours": "The song we fell in love to; the movie which told our life." This togetherness veers toward exclusiveness. One female client told me: "We did everything together. It seemed like we were the only ones in the world living. Everyone else seemed on the outside." One feels like half a whole without the other; and if parents or peers see one alone, they might ask, "Where's your other half?" The couple creates a love cocoon

within which their most important self-validating needs/desires are gratified and satisfied. The cocoon protects the fledgling and delicate relationship from external, disturbing, or intrusive influences. From one angle, the relationship is strengthened because it is nourished from within itself, but from another slant, the exclusiveness also sows seeds of potential dependence and possessiveness.

Idealism

Unmixed with the ambiguities of adulthood, and unalloyed by the practical exegencies of the work-a-day world, adolescent first love is an oasis or haven wherein the youngsters can postpone facing the stark indifference of the world. The first love is dream-laden and devoted. The accent is on openness, wonder, and possibility. The perfect spot of Camelot and Don Quixote's "impossible dream" are just two images of the rampant idealism.

Innocence

Indubitably, the adolescent first love happens on the innocent side of life. It teams with feelings, thoughts, and experiences of respect and sacrifice. Although the relationship is sexually expressive, the objective body is not necessarily provoked to action. And even if genital behavior does transpire, it is incidental, not essential. The relationship *qua* relationship is central. Perhaps a few descriptions can best highlight this point: "I had her on a pedestal, and respected her too much to soil or defile." "An absence of flirtation marked our relationship. It was as if our unspoken intention was to share and communicate with a whole person, not only with a sexual other." "We never profaned our love. Even our physical touches felt sacred." "They'll ruin us if we let them. If they think we go to bed together, let them think that even though we don't; it's their filthy minds and lives, not ours . . . We did go to bed together once. We played the Doors all night and lay in bed half-naked, kind of feeling around at each other, too awed to do anything more. It was exquisite."

Communication

A cardinal characteristic of adolescent first love is the sharing. The language of the eyes which speak blends with and yields to the spoken word. The partners seem to always have something

to say to each other, especially words about feelings, thoughts and plans. In order to interact it is no longer only a matter of turning out the lights and getting physical. Not infrequently, after spending several hours together, one last phone call is needed to utter that new insight which flashed in the interval between the good-night kiss and the present moment. In talking, the partners carve out a common language. In sharing, they cultivate a common ground. They do not merely interact, they commune. The original and nascent acts of undressing each other's mind occur in love letters, in poetry, in words which trustingly trickle off the lips. Risk-talk. Each learns the pristine lessons of what it means to be vulnerable to the other-gendered person.

Emotional Connection

The communication which flows and unveils, is clearly heart-felt. Indeed, it is not sufficient to say that the partners experience core emotions. Rather the adolescent first-love relationship is the veritable crucible in which the birth of unprecedented emotions occurs. "With her," writes one fellow, "I came to explore my new depths; the feelings she called up came from places that hadn't been before, and I had to explore them." One begins to enjoy and suffer through emotions that she had only read about in books, or that he believed were the privileged fare of heroes and heroines. Hitherto unknown or unexpressed feelings emerge: of possessiveness and jealousy; deep thrill and tenderness; of responsibility which makes you cry; the pain in loving; the "astonishing discovery," as one female stated, "not only that pain can be lived with and gotten over with in time, but that the pain softens us, makes us kinder and more sympathetic." The first-love partners unlock the doors for each other to the inchoate experiences of empathy, generosity and reciprocity.

Reciprocal Involvement

Obviously the reciprocity is incipient and rudimentary, but the first-love partners live out the give-and-take which is so vital to loving. The accent is not merely on the "togetherness," but upon the ebb and flow, upon the interval or hyphen between the "I" and the "Thou." In the speaking-listening dialectic, not only are two separate worlds revealed, but "our world" is created. "He lived always with her image before him. Without her he was his

old self. That old self wasn't him anymore. He was now the one who was in love with her and shared as much as he could with her. From her and with her he learned how to share a life." Uncounted hours are spent conversing about the "Harmonious Us."

Pervasive Presence of the Beloved

For the first love partner, the beloved is everywhere. "My love is with me at every moment whether she is physically present or not." "I am never alone. He is always with me in spirit even if he isn't at my side." The reality of the relationship does not depend upon manifest expression. It transcends actual or sentient presence. The absence of the other is a form of virtual presence.

Orientation to the Future

Co-born with the Harmonious Us is, in the apt phrase of Steinbeck (1974, p. 524), a "sharp appetite for the future." The partners begin to imagine, plan for, and, at times, actually build a common future. Within the relationship, each comes to understand a history which is separate and unique from one's own. In meeting the other's family, and seeing the other's place within that family, the foundation is laid both for recognizing the other as other, and for painting a possible future. Motherhood and fatherhood become concrete possibilities, not just general, abstract notions. The partners share dreams and fantasies about the home they would build, the family they would raise, the careers they would pursue, and the ways in which they might deepen their sexual/spiritual bond. They are at the first stage of understanding the gravity and the beauty of commitment.

Consistency with One's Roots

This special someone with whom we envision a future tends to be someone compatible with our past. In terms of central values, basic attitudes and orientations to life, our first love is consistent with our family background. Most likely your mom and dad welcomed into their home your partner, approved your relationship, and even blessed your future plans. Not infrequently a special bond develops between the individual and the parents of his/her counterpart. Often the fondness grows to the point that they greet each other with the endearing terms, "mom," "dad," "son," "daughter."

STRUCTURAL ELABORATION OF THE MEANING OF FIRST LOVE

First love happens. Surely it does not happen automatically nor inevitably. Not everyone experiences it during chronological adolescence. Indeed it is not the exclusive prerogative of the young, nor even of heterosexually oriented individuals.[1] First-time lovers are as unique and individual as humanly possible. Some do not love until they are thirty or forty years old, or until after they are married, or divorced. Others might never experience it at all, even though they ache for it. This investigation speaks to the adolescent in us all. Although first love is an actual, observable phenomenon, it is also a metaphor, inherently undatable.

The relationship, whenever it does happen, is neither *accidental* nor *caused*. A ripeness on my part is requisite if I am to notice the Epiphany of her entrance into my world; a readiness in me is necessary if I am to respond to the appeal in her speaking eyes. But although I might be anticipating her, or actively searching to find her, I lack both the causal power to make her appear and the control to make her come to me. She must come of her own desire. If she flows out to me in trust and with risk, and if I flow back meeting her, then we might know the fulfillment that is first love.

The first-love relationship changes one psychologically. The fundamental gains include dealing with the explosion of discovery and the handling of profound pain. The following elaborations articulate both phases of the basic gains.

The Discovery Side of First Love

One advantage of living through a first-love relationship is the great discoveries about life which it affords. The discoveries concern both self and world, in their dialectal unity. The three reflections which follow, "Coming Out, Informing Presence, and Orienting Presence," are thoroughly interrelated.

Coming Out. "What kind of man will I grow to be?" "Will I

---

[1]Although the purpose of this investigation is to evoke and to clarify the structure of first love as a phenomenon of heterosexual attachment, nevertheless I wish to comment upon homosexually oriented people. In the course of psychotherapy, I have worked with both males and females, adolescents and adults, who are homosexuals. Their descriptions of their first love parallel the descriptions of heterosexual persons. My therapeutic material warrants the conclusion that first love is *similar* for individuals of both orientations. Even so, I do not have sufficient information to state that the structure is the *same*. I hope that this study will provoke interest to search out the experience of homosexual individuals.

be capable of truly loving? Or will I only selfishly care that another might love me?" Voiced or unspoken, these questions haunt us as long as we feel unseasoned and unsure about our loving capabilities. The answers to these questions can be discovered only within a relationship which is experienced as special and intense. The tremendous advantage of the first love is that, within its orbit, I am called out of myself. The relationship is the nestling ground within which the emergent style of my unique manhood-womanhood does blossom. "Until him, I felt as if I was in soft focus, waiting for someone to come along to sharpen the image, and to draw me out. Suddenly I found myself evolving into a woman." "Before we met I felt lonely and not as big as the other guys. I remember riding my bicycle over and over around the block, strangely tangled up inside, and languishing in the doldrums. Then she softly but forcefully said, 'Come to me.' In responding I found my vitality." "My father had the habit of telling me that I was still green and wet behind the ears. But she called me by name and I ceased being raw." The preceding descriptions show that the first-love couple comprises the authentic psychospiritual debutant/debutante.

Informing Presence. My first love not only calls me out, but informs me, or shapes my nascent sense of self. The descriptive data depict the movement from nebulous confusion to a sense of direction: "She set standards which challenged me. Or rather, life itself, through our relationship, tested my strength and courage. I struggled. Then I began to believe in myself." "Suddenly I didn't feel like a backward, shy, plump tomboy anymore. It was the first time that I had been singled out as desirable. I discovered my own beauty and value." "I doubted that I was an attractive person. No one except my parents had ever told me so. Incredibly I had won this beauty by being gentle, understanding, and caring." Ultimately the first love who catalyzes my life, becomes a *foundational referent,* influentially powerful and long lasting.

Orienting Presence. The relationship also orients me in my lived world, spatially and temporally. Finding structure to replace the sense of being rudderless and bewildered is revealed in the following: "Before I met him, my life felt like many mismatched pieces of a jigsaw puzzle strewn over the floor. Nothing seemed to be fitting together properly. I was frustrated, befuddled, and mostly lonely. He somehow put into focus a horizon of possibilities, expectations, anticipations, and promises." "During physical

education I would walk on my hands around the gym. That's how topsy-turvey was my world then. Somehow my world stabilized by the way she would press back when kissing me goodnight. For the first time I could see a pattern to life." The French world *sens,* which means both "meaning" and "direction," best expresses the meaning of the first love as an orienting or alchemizing presence.

The Painful Side of First Love

Within the context of first love we grow psychospiritually because we deal with pain. Lessons learned about relating, hard but valuable, include the need to give up infantile illusions about boundless love, and the realization that everything is not under your control or on your own terms. If the neophyte love is to grow into a solid, steadfast bond, strong enough to support a longterm future, then this painful shift from a self-centered to an other-centered orientation must occur and persist. The following descriptions are empirical variations of the experiential manifestation of this painful side.

The Experience of Loss Within the Marriage of First-Love Partners. More than a few first-love couples do marry. For them the painful crisis happens at various points, most frequently when either or both have to face their aloneness, or to find their own bearings, or when the magical beginning wears toward the imperfect edge of everyday life. Take the situation in which a young couple has to square their idealistic vision with a cold, hard fact of a still-born son. Suppose they have to deal with the loss of innocence in the shape of an extra-marital affair, drug addiction, or a suicide attempt. The couple, with the resiliency to face the pain of disillusionment, disappointment and disenchantment, can deepen their bond, and parlay its specialness into an authentic intimacy. Pain that is not endured tends to lead to a relationship fraught with bitterness, cynicism, cruelty, indifference or despair. A popular alternative is divorce.

The Loss at the Break-up of the First-Love Relationship. For those many relationships which do not lead to marriage, a break-up occurs. The more truly reciprocal the relationship, the more it is a mutual loss, a genuine death experience for both parties, requiring "grief-work" through the same structural issues which Freud (1917/1957) clarified about mourning and melancholia in the face of any death.

If the relationship is balanced in experienced reciprocal desire, then it is as painfully grief-laden for the one who must end the relationship as it is for the one who is rejected, in common parlance, "dropped." For the one who could not foresee the ending, the break-up comes as a cruel, precipitious shock, leaving in its wake a gaping hole, and a myriad of unanswered questions: "Why did she all-of-a-sudden stop loving me"? "What did I do that was so wrong"? "Did I abuse the privilege of loving him"?

The painful burden of the one who lives, seemingly endlessly, with rehearsed words of parting, is the knowledge that he will hurt that precious other, the one whom he had tamed and who has tamed him (Saint-Exupery, 1971, p. 78-88). Some sayings which express the pain of the one who instigates the ending include: "What kind of a person am I? How can I hurt him?" "What is wrong with my love? Why can't I deliver my promise of everlasting?" "Am I making a terrible mistake?"

The Break-up of Unbalanced First Loves. The end of every adolescent first-love is no little thing, and should be taken seriously by involved adults. But the demise of an unbalanced relationship particularly crushes the weaker, most needy, or overdependent partner. Instead of witnessing the dynamics of grief-work, we see desperate reactions: the "slump" of losing interest in school work, extracurricular activities, family relations, and peer interactions; depression, physical illness, (e.g., anorexia nervosa); suicide attempts, and schizoid episodes.

Postponement of the Grief-labor

To suffer the loss of a first love is particularly difficult since the relationship is so loaded with hopes, promises, images, ideals, and dreams. In the following, I will articulate several ways of evading the hurt that the relationship has ended, either in fact or in meaning.

Parrying the Loss of Meaning. The first love does not always remain evergreen. One way to postpone the griefwork is to ward off seeing, or admitting, that the relationship has changed in meaning: spoiled by the dimming of its vital spark; eroded by jealousy or possessive smothering; choked in the rarified atmosphere of dwelling on a pedestal. Some refuse to see the changes; others delay the act of separation: "I'll put it off until tomorrow." "Someday I'll end this. But I've got lots of time. I live one day at

a time." The parrying and procrastination are often rooted in special significances, known to the person alone. Suppose the young girl has "lost" her virginity to her first love. She might feel that she "has" to marry him even though the relationship has gone stale. Her counterpart, knowing that he "took" her virginity, might feel that he cannot discard her as "spoiled goods." The line is always fine between the evasion of death, and the eschewal of a narcissistic wound at the conclusion of a magnificent obsession. External circumstances can also contribute to warding off the ending. The most significant is family involvement. The pressure is strong to stay in the relationship so that you do not have to lessen the many binding ties between both families.

Carrying the Torch. Remaining "hung up" on one's "old flame" after an actual parting, avoids the griefwork, too. To "carry the torch" is to seek a duplication of the first love in any subsequent relationship, to attempt to recapture its magic, to compare constantly new partners with that special someone. Carrying the torch is a "good faith/bad faith" act in that one accepts the ending in fact, but leaves its meaning unresolved. The most prevalent condition which makes possible the phenomenon of carrying the torch is when the first love appears pure and good until the end. Stunned by an unsuspected loss, we are left saddled to good memories, with nothing to fault or regret except the ending itself. One songwriter captured the feeling with a touch of pleading poetry: "If you can't undo the wrong, undo the right!" Until we assume responsibility for the undoing we keep seeking the duplicate. Sometimes the search takes the form of finding someone with whom we can work out our process about the issue, and we do finally finish our first love. Other times we keep chasing a paradise lost, setting ourselves up for repeated disappointment, and treating new partners unfairly for not being true echoes or traces. Still again, we may carry the torch into a marriage, haunted by questions. And if we do not know what we would do if our old love returned, our doubts orchestrate feelings of jealousy. Our spouse experiences the futility of trying to compete with a live ghost.

On the Rebound. Not all first loves end still looking like "solid gold." When we are left feeling that we were manipulated, deceived, exploited, or betrayed, we rebound. While in the process of getting our bearings, we tend to engage in one or another of three styles of rebounding. One style is to *withdraw.* Whenever the ending tears into our trust, we tend to stay reserved. The

cliche applies: "Once burnt, twice shy." Or, when the songwriter takes pen in hand he writes: "After you when someone smiles at me, I'll wonder what's the price. After you I'll be suspicious of anyone that's nice." Indeed the end of a destructive first love is a "natural" time in life to be paranoid: careful not to become too vulnerable; cautious not to commit too soon. A second style of rebounding is to play the *tyrant*. In an attitude of bitterness and vindictive revenge, we act out on new partners the same "games" played on us. Steeled against another pain, we trifle, tease or punish the new other for our hurts. Remaining a *victim* is the third style. We continue the pattern, finding someone who will hurt us in an old familiar way. We find someone to feed us the same lines so that we can fall again; someone to toy with us like a puppet on a string, so that we can play the fool once more; someone who will cooperate in making love another bridge to burn.

THEORETICAL REFLECTIONS

To this point I have attempted to evoke the phenomenon of first love, to depict its structure, and to illuminate its general meanings. To complete my work, I must situate that relationship along the developmental spiral (Alapack & Alapack, in press), and also place it within a more comprehensive whole. What calls out first love? On what basis does one differentiate it from any other romantic involvement? Theoretical scope and vision round out the search.

The Ontological Revolution

To Kierkegaard (1980) the human person is a "synethesis of psyche and body sustained by spirit" (p. 43). He describes the growth process as a movement from the state of innocence, when the spirit is still dreaming and sensual desire is present only in premonition, to the coming-to-consciousness. The awakening of the dialectically interwoven pair, sexuality/spirituality, provokes anxiety, the vanguard of a crisis. We either face the crisis and make a qualitative leap into authentic freedom and selfhood, or succumb, in some form, to the deadness of despair.

This initial adolescent crisis about the possibilities of the self, and about the separation from one's family of origin, I name the *ontological revolution*. Boelen (1978) describes this metamorphosis as a movement to a new level of existence: beyond the depen-

dent level of the child, and beyond the technical-functional level of the juvenile, to the truly personal level. Twin born with the awakening of the "personal self" is the "discovery of primordial wonder," and the "multidimensional presence to the world," an expansion horizontally, vertically and in depth (Boelen, 1978, p. 87).

Until the ontological revolution, the growing youngster is subsumed within the network of three distinct, overlapping rings: family, peer group, and adult authorities (teachers, coaches, clergy, etc.). With the realization that one is a unique self, a part of, but also apart from, that threefold network of relationships, the adolescent ceases to be a "satellite" to it (Keen, 1970, p. 42). The ontological revolution is the turning point in life from the collective fusion of infantile dependence, to the independence of the singular self, on the way to the community of mature dependence in intimacy, parenthood, worker solidarity, and friendship.

The ontological revolution makes a major dent into the "natural attitude," that simple, narrow, unquestioned "taken-for-grantedness" about self and world. In a nascent way, and at a lived level, the adolescent begins to ask the Kantian question: what are the conditions which make something possible?; and the Husserlian question: what are the foundations, the roots, the genesis of phenomena?; and the Heideggerian question: can I be an aware shepherd of Being? In Erikson's (1982) phraseology, the adolescent experiences a new desire for "fidelity" to someone or some cause/ideal beyond self (p. 73).

First love and the ontological revolution are dialectically related. When the adolescent begins to write poetry or songs, or starts to keep a diary as a vehicle of self-expression, or commits herself to causes, then these signs that she has entered into the revolution also co-create the context for the readiness to flow out to her first love. Likewise, the carnival of affections and the kaleidoscope of images with which first love teams, opens her to the One, the Good, the True, the Beautiful and the Tragic.

First Love: An Infinite Relationship

Granted that first love might be related dialectically to the ontological revolution, what distinguishes it from other love connections? First love is infinite, in the sense that I have exemplified elsewhere (Alapack, 1975). Here I want to pinpoint the specificity

of first love by differentiating between it and finite relationships. Levinas' (1969) phenomenology of intersubjectivity provides the terminology and the theoretical framework. His thought is a passionate reflection about the human face, about eyes which do not shine, but speak.

Simply stated, an infinite relationship is other-centered and relationship-constellated; a finite relationship is self-centered. That capsule statement requires elaboration. First I will discuss the infinite, and then describe some finite relationships which might cast into sharp relief the infinity of first love.

The Infinite Relationship. The earmarks of first love clearly reveal that it pivots both around the person of the partner as a real other, and around the shared relationship. The meaning of first love is neither a complete fantasy projection, nor a correlate of my needs or intentions. In Levinas' (1969) language the other "overflows" my "ideals" or images of her and at each instant "undoes the form he presents." There is always more to her inexhaustible richness than what meets my eyes. She comes as an Epiphany who shines with her own kind of light, radically other and outside of me. Levinas (1969) is fond of speaking about the "gleam of exteriority in the eye of the other," and of the "transcendence in the face" (p. 84). She also comes in the vocative mode, bringing with her new, surprising sights and sounds for my life, if I can let go of my sedimented meanings to look at her and to listen. If she is truly an infinite other for me, to her summons I do respond. Either I turn away in fear, guilt, or shame, or else I welcome her in hospitality, surrender, and joy.

The Finite Situations. One type of self-focused involvement is *falling in love with love.* First love is distinct from infatuation. When we fall in love with love we are dazzled by the exciting *idea* of romance. The person with whom I am enamoured matters little. Rather I veer toward the *image* of that person, what filters through the distorting lens of my needs. She and I share no common ground. Although I might secretly compose countless poems or love letters to her, I might take no action to encounter her. Even if I should dare to speak to her, I would never tell her of my great affection. Most often the admiration happens at a distance. Thus, although I might feel lovesick about her, she could never blow a hole through my living heart with grief. The bond exists only in my imagination or dreams. A few descriptions of *finite interactions* illustrate this point: "Having a boyfriend was a status

symbol. To be needed and liked by a boy, and to be popular at school were more important to me than my boyfriend." "Dating her was my form of insurance against being alone." "My life revolved around having that one special boy who made *me* feel special." "When our relationship ended, I discovered that he had been using me for our swimming pool, our snowmobile, and my body." In such finite interactions, the other whom I allegedly love is more accurately designated as an extension of myself. His reality pales beneath his representation to me. His face is encompassed by my ideas, and his voice is muffled by my intentions. I want him to notice me, admire me, rave about me, or gratify my sexual urges. In brief, the finite other shines in the "borrowed light" (Levinas, 1969, p. 67) of my ego-boasting needs for social prestige and self-esteem. To highlight the distinction: A finite conjunction is an *ad hoc* situation of self-appeasement and bilateral adjustment. It lasts until the new wears off, the conquest is made, or the pleasure traded. An infinite relationship is an enduring situation of self-realization and mutual coordination. Even if it ends, it is unforgettable and never profaned, leaving the gentle melancholy of a beautiful sadness.

CLOSING SUMMARY

First love is still unripe, in that "first wondering state of unrealization" (Lawrence, 1975, p. 198). Within its radiant dance, I rise to newness: drawn from my depths, beckoned beyond myself, and blazed toward the world. The accent is upon seeds which might sprout, bud, and ripen. The accent is upon cornerstones upon which one might build. The accent is upon a relationship which is a herald of a possible Advent. For my first love is an existential alchemist who introduces me to the aweful dimension of desire wherein I seek another, not with the fierce pawing grasp of insufficiency, but with a caress that seeks the haunting absence of the miracle yet to come.

REFERENCES

Alapack, R.J. & Alapack, M.C.L. (In press). The hinge of the door to authentic adulthood: A Kierkegaardian inspired synthesis of the meaning of leaving home. *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology.*

Alapack, R.J. (1975). The outlaw relationship: An existential phenomenological reflection upon the transition from adolescence to adulthood. In A. Giorgi, C.T. Fischer, & E.L. Murray (Eds.), *Duquesne studies in phenomenological psychology, Vol. 1* (pp. 182-

205). Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press.

Bachelard, G. (1969). *The poetics of space.* Boston: Beacon Press.

Boelen, B. (1978). *Personal maturity: The existential dimension.* New York: The Seabury Press.

Erikson, E. (1982). *The life cycle completed.* New York: Norton.

Freud, S. (1957). Mourning and melancholia. In J. Strachey (Ed. and Trans.), *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud,* (Vol. 14, pp. 237-260). London: Hogarth Press (Original work published 1917).

Giorgi, A. (1970). *Psychology as a human science: A phenomenologically based approach.* New York: Harper & Row.

Giorgi, A. (1975). An application of phenomenological method in psychology. In A. Giorgi, C.T. Fischer, & E.L. Murray (Eds.), *Duquesne studies in phenomenological psychology, Vol. 2* (pp. 82-103). Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press.

Hart, R.L. (1968). *Unfinished man and the imagination: Toward an ontology and a rhetoric of revelation.* New York: Herder & Herder.

Keen, E. (1970). *Three faces of being: toward an existential clinical psychology.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.

Kierkegaard, S. (1980). *Concept of anxiety.* Princeton, N.J. Princeton University Press.

Kvale, S. (1983). The qualitative research interview: A phenomenological and a hermeneutical mode of understanding. *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology, 14,* 171-196.

Lacan, J. (1981). *Speech and language in psychoanalysis.* Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press.

Lawrence, D.H. (1975). *The rainbow.* New York: Viking.

Levinas, E. (1969). *Totality and infinity.* Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press.

Lonergan, B. (1971). *Method in theology.* London: Darton, Longman & Todd.

Nordentoff, K. (1978). *Kierkegaard's psychology.* Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press.

Saint-Exupery, A. (1971). *Le petite prince.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.

Steinbeck, J. (1972). *East of Eden.* New York: Bantam Books.

THE EXPERIENCE OF THE RETIREE'S SOCIAL NETWORK DURING THE TRANSITION TO RETIREMENT

Gail A. Hornstein and Seymour Wapner*

The transition from full-time work to retirement brings about complex changes in a person's life. For some individuals, there are major readjustments in daily activities, living arrangements, and financial status. For others, the changes are more psychological than economic, involving a reassessment of self-identity and sense of value. But regardless of the exact nature of the changes an individual experiences, retirement involves grappling with the meaning of work, aging, and being unemployed in a culture which defines status largely in terms of occupation.

Most studies of retirement implicitly conceptualize it as a monolithic process which affects all individuals in much the same way. This research consists of large-scale surveys with hundreds of subjects, which are directed toward identifying the variables affecting the "average" retiree in the "average" setting (see, for example, Atchley, 1971; Gelber, 1969; Katona, 1970). While studies of this sort provide important base-line data about the retirement process in general, they do not tell us much about the meaning of retirement as it is actually experienced by an individual or about the diversity of experiences that are found among different groups of retirees.

Further, most research on retirement employs a restricted unit of analysis, where only the attitudes, plans, etc. of the retiree him/herself are studied. This limitation makes it seem as if retirement is something which affects and has meaning solely for the individual who is actually retiring, and that (s)he moves through the transition to retirement in isolation.

Our research began with a different set of assumptions. First, we took the view that an in-depth understanding of an individual's experience is necessary to fully understand the significance of the

* Department of Psychology, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Massachusetts 01075 and Department of Psychology, Clark University, 950 Main St., Worcester, Massachusetts 01610. This research was supported by a grant from the NRTA-AARP Andrus Foundation. We also gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Mary Watkins, Jack Demick, Lyndy Pye, Robert Russell, Virginia Sherwood, and Yvonne Wells.

retirement transition. In particular, we were interested in gaining insight into the range of diverse meanings that retirement has for different individuals and the variety of ways in which the transition takes place. Second, we started from the assumption that individuals live in social networks, in which the events affecting any one member have important effects for others in the network. On this view, retirement is not simply an individual phenomenon; it is something which impacts the retiree's social network as a whole.

To address these concerns, we employed a phenomenological approach in which we conducted intensive interviews with 24 retirees and one or two members of the social network of about half of these retirees. We have reported our findings regarding the individual retirees elsewhere (Hornstein and Wapner, in press), and so we want to focus here on the experience of the network members. However, since one of our main interests is the degree of congruence between the experience of the retiree and that of the network, it is helpful to review briefly the findings regarding the retirees before turning to a detailed consideration of that part of the study which concerned the network members. The phenomenological method of analysis used in this study allowed us to identify four qualitatively different modes by which retirees experience and adapt to retirement.

For some individuals, retirement is experienced as a *transition to old age*. When this is its primary meaning, retirement is felt to be a time to order one's life and put it into perspective and to prepare psychologically for the process of aging. Thus, retirement is not seen as a time to begin new activities or projects or to seek out new opportunities. Rather, it is a time to wind down, to diminish one's level of activity, and to settle into a quiet, more circumscribed kind of existence.

For other individuals, retirement has an almost opposite meaning, in that it represents the welcome *beginning of a new phase of life*. It signifies the time in one's life that one can live in accordance with one's own needs, desires, and goals, free of the requirements and demands of others. It is a time to embark on new projects, energetically pursue long-awaited goals, and to enjoy life to its fullest.

A third way of experiencing retirement is as a *continuation* of previous phases of one's life. Individuals who see retirement in this way do not feel it to be an event of major personal importance. There is a basic continuity to the pattern of their lives pre-

and post-retirement, and retirement *per se* does not really constitute a critical transition in a psychological sense. It simply allows for a continuation of valued activities in a more satisfying and less pressured way.

Finally, some individuals experience retirement as an *imposed disruption* and as the loss of a highly-valued sphere of activity. They perceive there to be no real substitute for the work world, and see retirement as having no intrinsic meaning of its own. It is almost as if a part of the self has been taken away. Although eventually they adjust to this loss, an underlying feeling of disquiet remains, reflecting their sense of having made the best of a situation that neither sought nor really desired.

Although these four modes of experiencing and adapting to retirement are strikingly different, some general themes characterized the experiences of all the retirees we interviewed: the necessity of coming to terms with the issue of aging and death; experiencing a slow process of disengagement from one's company or organization; having to develop an internal organization to replace the external structure provided by work; and constructing a new sense of identity as a retiree.

The Role of the Social Network during the Transition

There has been some prior research pointing to the importance of the social network during the process of transition and adaptation to retirement (see, for example, Anderson as cited in Darnley, 1975; Cox & Bhak, 1979; Crawford, 1971). Further, some investigators (e.g., Keating & Marshall, 1980) have suggested that the transition process would be facilitated if companies and organizations involved network members in the pre-retirement planning and preparation programs they provide for their retiring employees. However, the experience of network members has not been studied in an in-depth way, nor has the range and diversity of their experiences been articulated systematically.

A phenomenological approach is especially appropriate to such concerns because it allows for a rigorous examination of the structure of each individual's experience, as well as providing a means by which to identify commonalities and differences in experience across individuals (Giorgi, 1971). Rather than starting with a preconceived set of assumptions and attempting to test these assumptions by comparing them with empirical data, phenomeno-

logical studies begin with the world as it is lived by the individual and attempt to generate, through detailed and systematic description, the fullest articulation of this lived experience. In so doing, the phenomenologist maintains a primary loyalty to the understanding of the phenomenon itself (Giorgi, 1970).

In choosing a phenomenological approach to study the experience of the retiree's social network, our goal was to understand as fully as possible what it is like for network members to go through the transition process. Although we did have some assumptions at the outset (e.g., that retirement is not simply an individual phenomenon but one that affects the network as a whole), we did not want to impose our views on the participants. Rather, we wanted to find out how they themselves experienced their role in the transition, and what effect, if any, their friend's or relative's retirement had had on their own lives. We were also interested in whether the retiree and members of his/her social network came eventually to develop a shared perspective on the meaning of retirement, or whether each individual perceived the event from very different vantage points.

METHOD

Subjects

The 24 retirees were interviewed on two occasions—once just prior to and again 6-8 months following the actual date of retirement. After the first interview had been conducted, the interviewer made a judgment about whether it would be possible to recruit a member of that retiree's social network as a participant in the study. This determination was based on two criteria: whether the retiree had any close relatives living nearby, and if so, whether these individuals were available and appropriate for interviews (i.e., not in a nursing home or hospital, not senile or otherwise incapacitated etc.). Our retiree group included a number of individuals who failed to meet one of these criteria, which limited the potential pool of network participants. We were, however, successful in recruiting 13 network members for interviews, and these individuals constitute the participant group discussed here.

Of the 13 network participants, eight were wives of male retirees. Other participants included: the female living companion and co-worker of a female retiree, the son and daughter-in-law of a female retiree, the son of a male retiree, and the daughter of a

female retiree. What is immediately striking about this group is that it includes no husbands of female retirees. This is no doubt a function of the fact that only 10 of our 24 retirees were women, and of these 10, seven were divorced, widowed, or unmarried. Since a considerably lower number of women than men have been in the U. S. work force long enough to reach retirement age, and since most such women began working because they needed to support themselves or their children, it seems inevitable that current studies of retirees' social networks will include few husbands of retiring women workers. The experience of such men is probably quite different from that of the wives of male retirees, and we consider the inclusion of husbands as an important task for future research.

Timing, Content, and Style of Interviews

Each network participant was interviewed once, approximately 6-8 months after their friend or family member had retired. Although we wanted to ensure that we gathered the same kinds of information from all participants, we were particularly interested in the ways that participants structured their own experience. Accordingly, each interview began with an open-ended question ("What has it been like for you for X to be retired?"). The participant was encouraged to take as long as (s)he wished to answer this question, and the interviewer refrained from imposing his/her own perspective during this initial phase of the interview. In this manner, we were able to gain insight into those aspects of the retirement transition that were most critical to each participant. In the second phase of the interview, the interviewer utilized a semi-structured style, and asked questions about those issues which had not yet been covered but which, in our view, might be important. These questions focused on four general topics: how the participant thought the retiree was experiencing his/her retirement; what attitudes and feelings the participant him/herself had about the retirement; what effect the retirement was having on the participant's own life; and to what extent the participant saw him/herself as serving in a support role to the retiree as (s)he made the transition to retirement.

We regarded participants as "co-researchers" (Keen, 1982; Lyons, 1970), and interviewers were trained to ask general questions and to probe the participant's responses so that an in-depth

understanding of his/her experience could be gained. Interviews were tape-recorded with the participant's permission. These tapes allowed us to work from a complete record of the interview, as well as to examine subtle ways in which the interviewer's perspective may have affected the participant's report of his/her experience.

Method of Analysis

The tape recordings of all interviews were transcribed verbatim. Working from these transcripts, the researcher proceeded through a series of analytic steps, according to a modified version of the method outlined by Giorgi (1971, 1975). The goal of this method is to grasp the way that the participant structures his/her own life experience.

Briefly stated, the first step of the method involves dividing the transcript into a series of *meaning units*, each of which represents an aspect of the participant's experience of the retirement transition. In step two, after the meaning units have been delineated, the data analyst states as concisely as possible the *central theme* that characterizes each unit. Step three involves assessing each meaning unit and its central theme in terms of the specific set of research questions posed for the study. In step four, the researcher ties together the themes and their import for the research questions in the form of a narrative statement called the *situated structure*. This structural description is a detailed discussion of the essential features of that participant's experience of retirement. Researchers constructed a situated structure for each participant, and these descriptions were then compared with one another to identify commonalities and variations across the participant group. These comparisons yielded general themes, each of which embodies features common to all participants as well as variations specific to the particular dynamics of each network member's experience.

RESULTS

We have organized the findings from the network interviews in terms of the three general themes which emerged from these analyses: (1) the degree of involvement of network members in the retiree's planning process, in assisting with the transition and in providing ongoing support; (2) the extent of congruence versus in-

congruence between the retiree's views and that of the social network with respect to the meaning of retirement and the way the transition has taken place; and (3) the degree of change and impact, anticipated or actual, that the retirement has had on the lives of the network members.

Degree of Involvement of the Network Member during the Transition

For the network member to find an appropriate level of involvement in the retirement transition, (s)he must weigh both his/her own needs and those of the retiree. Being supportive yet not intrusive requires a sensitivity that is difficult to achieve. And since the transition to retirement occurs in the context of an ongoing relationship that has already developed its own means for accommodating to change, the degree to which the network member becomes involved manifests what the relationship itself is like. Further, whether his/her level of involvement is perceived as appropriate depends on the nature of each person's needs and the willingness of the other to meet them.

There was considerable variation in the degree to which network members involved themselves in the retirement planning process and in providing support for the retiree during the transition. At one end of the continuum, we found network members who construed the process of planning for and adapting to retirement as primarily a task for the retiree. They were receptive to talking with him/her about plans and feelings concerning the transition, but saw themselves as having no active or essential role to play in it. In some instances, this relative lack of involvement was perceived in a positive way by both the retiree and the network member. For example, the live-in companion of a college administrator saw her friend as self-sufficient and as not needing any special support or assistance, a view which was shared by the retiree herself. Thus, the low level of involvement of the friend was experienced as appropriate and unproblematic by them both.

However, in other instances, a low level of involvement and support carried the potential for conflict. For example, an administrator in a large company, who felt angry and unprepared for the transition, experienced the first few months of retirement as "a void." His wife felt it was up to her husband to find activities to occupy himself, since she was involved in a number of organiza-

tions. At first, apparently unable to do this, he would say "Wait a minute, I'll go with you" whenever she went to leave the house. This proved very conflictual for the relationship, and fed into the fear they both had that retirement was going to force them to spend more time together than each of them wanted. The husband, a former military man, finally resolved this issue by taking a somewhat regimented approach to organizing his life—carving out a set of activities that could provide structure to his daily life. After several months of this, he concluded, "It's nice to be home with the Mrs. It's really as smooth as could be. She has all her activities and I have all mine. We just go our separate ways and meet in the evening." Thus, the wife's lack of involvement and support, initially experienced negatively by the husband, became a stimulus for him to create his own structure.

At the other end of the continuum, we found some network members to be highly involved in the planning process and in providing ongoing support. They saw retirement as something which affects the network as a whole, and felt they had a stake in trying to shape the transition in ways that would allow their own needs, as well as those of the retiree, to be met. For example, the wife of a business executive saw retirement as a way for him to escape the stressful competitiveness of his company and for both of them to move nearer to their children. In this case it was the wife who initiated the process of planning for retirement, drawing up lists of financial arrangements designed to convince her husband to retire early. After a year of persuasion, her persistent involvement succeeded. Here, a high level of involvement was perceived positively by both persons, and resulted in the creation of a satisfying retirement for each of them.

There were, however, other cases where disagreement occurred between the retiree and the network member regarding how high the involvement should be. Negotiation and mutual accommodation were then necessary if conflict were to be avoided. For example, the daughter of an assistant manager wanted to limit her involvement and urged her mother to plan carefully for retirement before it actually took place. The mother, ambivalent about retirement to start with, felt unable to formulate any clear plans. When she sought out her daughter for support and assistance in the first few months after retirement, the daughter responded with anger at her mother's neediness and lack of plans. It was not that the daughter was unwilling to be highly involved;

however, her notion of what constituted involvement was clearly different from that of her mother. Even after 6-8 months, this conflict had not been fully resolved: the daughter perceived herself to be doing as much as she could, but it was as if no amount of involvement would be adequate to her mother's needs.

Thus, the level of involvement *per se* was not the central factor in determining whether the transition went smoothly. Rather, what seemed to be most important was whether the retiree and the network member *agreed* as to what level of involvement was appropriate. This was itself related to the extent to which there was congruence in how each viewed the meaning of retirement and the form that the transition ought to take, and so it is to this issue that we turn next.

Congruence vs. Incongruence in How Retirement Was Viewed

The many and varied symbolic meanings that retirement comes to have for the retiree are matched by an equally varied set of meanings in the experience of network members. This leads to a complex interaction between their respective views of what retirement will mean for the retiree, and what it will mean for the network. The potential for lack of congruence here is considerable, and in many ways is the central issue that must be faced during the transition.

When the retiree and the network member have a shared perspective, the transition is experienced as unproblematic. The specific nature of this perspective is less important than the fact of its being shared. For example, an assistant vice-president and his wife both took the view that retirement was a time for them to develop some joint interests as well as to continue separate activities. Thus, in their experience, retirement is the beginning of a new phase of life, a time in which new projects can be initiated. In contrast, another couple, a college professor and his wife, both felt that retirement represents the transition to old age and that rather than developing new interests, one ought to allow for a gradual decrease in one's level of activity. Despite the fact that these two views of retirement are quite different, both of these couples made a relatively smooth transition because their expectations were congruent.

Yet even when there is consideration agreement about the general meaning of retirement, the specific realization of that view

can be imagined in different ways. The professor, for example, saw a continued but more relaxed involvement in town and campus affairs as the means by which to ease gradually into the last phase of his life. His wife, on the other hand, wanted to move permanently to their vacation home and disengage from these kinds of activities because, in her view, that was the most optimal way to begin to wind down. Considerable negotiation and compromise were required to arrive at a mutually agreeable course of action, despite the fact that their basic views of retirement were highly congruent.

When there is some degree of incongruence between the perspective of the retiree and that of the network member, conflict and disappointment become central features of the retirement transition. One form that this incongruence can take is for there to be a difference in their respective expectations about what retirement will mean for the retiree. In some cases, the network member and the retiree even construe seemingly "objective" features of the retiree's behavior in different ways. For example, the wife and son of a man who had been a guidance counselor in a local school shared the expectation that his life would not be changed significantly by retirement. Since they were both still employed and did not want their own lives to change substantially when he retired, they were invested in his working part-time and thus not disrupting the ongoing family structure. He, on the other hand, wanted to be free of some of the pressure and frustrations of his job, and saw retirement as a time when he could work in a more leisurely and self-defined way. Even though he shared his wife's and son's view that he would continue to work after retiring, he wanted there to be a qualitative difference in the way he felt about work and assumed that there would be differences in the structure of his daily life. This subtle discrepancy between their expectations led to noticeable conflict. His wife and son were concerned that he was spending too much time hanging around the house watching television and sleeping, and they both wanted him to get another part-time job. His wife in particular worried that he was getting "stagnant" and that he would end up feeling lonely and "left-out." The retiree himself denied that he spent any more time than usual watching television or sleeping, and he clearly did not share their fears about what would happen to him if he continued to work only a few hours a day.

A second type of incongruence occurred when there were

conflicting views about what retirement would mean for the network member. While this type of discrepancy could take many forms, it typically involved the wife having expected positive change in her life as a consequence of her husband's retirement and being disillusioned when it became clear that this change was not going to occur. In some instances, the wife saw her husband's retirement as the opportunity for her to "retire" as well, in the sense that he would begin to share more of the work of maintaining the household. As one example, the wife of a staff manager anticipated his retirement as a time when he would finally begin to spend more time with her. She was more focussed on what his retirement would mean for her than on what it represented to him. However, she found him to be just as inaccessible in retirement as he was when away working ten hours a day, and felt bitter about this violation of her expectations. When she complained to her husband that she wanted to spend more time together, he ignored her or suggested that she get some exercise by joining him in the activities he enjoyed, such as chopping firewood.

In this case and others like it, the network member did not clearly articulate his/her expectations before retirement actually occurred and was thus unprepared for the fact that the retiree held a different set of assumptions. This contributed to making the reality of retirement seem even more disillusioning, since in addition to the actual discrepancy between their views there was the added element of being surprised that such a discrepancy even existed.

A still more complex type of incongruence took place when there were multiple sources of disagreement, i.e. when the retiree and the network member differed in their expectations about what retirement would mean for the retiree *and* in what it would mean for the network. Here the level of conflict becomes quite high, since such individual's anticipations for his/her own life as well as for that of the other turn out not to be fully met. A vivid example is provided by the case of a staff assistant who had struggled for years in an unrewarding job to support herself and her son after being divorced. She viewed retirement as the time when she was finally relieved of her duties and responsibilities for others, and could do whatever she wanted "even if it's dumb, and even if it doesn't mean anything" like just sitting and reading. However, although her son was also relieved that she was now freed from the pressures and frustrations of work, he was concerned at the pros-

pect that she might "get lazy" and do nothing. After years of being called upon to be supportive to her as she struggled to keep going, the son seemed implicitly to view his mother's role as an opportunity for him to "retire" from his support role. And yet at the same time he seemed to want to maintain a position of influence over her and was greatly frustrated by the fact that, as he put it, "she doesn't listen to what I tell her she ought to do." For example, as a way of freeing her from the financial worries of maintaining her home, the son proposed that he buy his mother's house and let her continue to live in it rent free. He was irritated and bewildered at her refusal, failing to realize that the house was a symbol to her of the independence and self-sufficiency she fought so long and hard to attain. This lack of congruence between the retiree's and the network member's views revealed itself on several levels, such that the same events were experienced quite differently by each of them. To some extent, each wanted the other to be a different kind of person from who s(he) had been prior to her retirement, and these hopes were only partly fulfilled.

Finding ways to negotiate differences between discrepant views of retirement is a major task during the transition period. And for some families, this task is made more difficult by the fact that each person's expectations were not apparent to the others before the transition began. Even when there are explicit discussions regarding how patterns of interaction will change following retirement, the members often do not fully articulate hopes, fears, and concerns about these changes.

Degree of Impact of Retirement on the Network Member

The third general theme that emerged from the data concerned the degree of change that occurred in the network member's own life as a consequence of his/her friend's or relative's retirement. We found considerable variation in the degree to which retirement had an impact on the network members' lives. At one end of the continuum, there was very little change. The structure of the network member's life continues in much the same way that it had prior to the transition, and only a few aspects of daily interaction were affected. For example, the wife might now make lunch for her husband, or the child might see his/her parent slightly more often. The pace of life within the family might be somewhat more relaxed and less pressured. But in

these cases, what was striking was how little real change there was.

A low level of change in the network member's life was experienced positively by some individuals but negatively by others. The nature of this evaluation was related to the expectations that had been held prior to the transition. For example, the wife of the staff manager (who had looked forward to retirement as a time when her husband would be more available to her) felt that in fact her life had changed very little. Thus, she experienced a low level of change to be negative, because it represented a violation of her expectation that things would be very different for her after her husband retired. A contrasting case is provided by the wife of the administrator who expected her husband to find ways to occupy himself so that her own daily structure of activities could continue largely unchanged. Here a low level of change was felt to be positive, because it was consistent with her view that retirement should bring about little alteration in one's pre-retirement life structure.

At the other end of the continuum, there were some participants who experienced their relative's retirement as having considerable impact on their own lives. To these individuals, retirement was very much an event that affected the network as a whole, not simply the retiree. But here again, these changes could be welcomed or resented. In the case of the executive's wife, who persuaded her husband to retire early so that they could move nearer to their children, the major readjustments involved in the move were perceived as an opportunity for positive change. Having eagerly anticipated retirement as a way to bring about these changes, she welcomed the restructuring of her life which resulted. In contrast, the wife of a staff assistant, whose husband felt that he had lost a major part of himself when he retired, resented what she perceived as his encroachment on her own sphere of activities. Unable to find satisfying ways to replace the sense of productivity he felt in his work, the husband began taking over her tasks of shopping and managing the household, in an attempt to demonstrate that he could do them more efficiently. Thus, from the wife's perspective, major changes were taking place in the structure of her daily life, but these were not changes she had sought and she resented the fact that they were occurring. Similarly, the daughter of the assistant manager, who felt that her mother required more support than she could provide, reacted

with frustration and anger at the impact her mother's retirement was having on her own life. Events like Sunday dinner, which prior to retirement had been casual family get-togethers, were transformed into responsibilities, with anyone who could not attend being required to have a good excuse and "make up the time" during the week. Here again, the change occurring in the network member's own life was perceived negatively, even though some change had been anticipated.

Overall, retirement had some impact on each network member's life, but more critical than the extent of change itself was how this change was experienced. To have an event that, at least in a narrow sense, is occurring in someone else's life turn out to have major impact on your own life can be unsettling. And if it had not been expected, it is even more difficult. Many of our participants seemed to be struggling to find a stance that would be appropriate to this period of transition, one that would balance their desire to be responsive to the retiree with their need not to sacrifice their own interests. Some retirees were sensitive to this dynamic and appeared to realize that retirement could involve as much of a transition for the network member as it could for the retiree. Others, more caught up in their own needs, acted as if the network member ought to adapt to these needs regardless of the degree to which this meant changes in the network member's own life.

Structural Relations among the three General Themes

An important task with regard to the findings presented thus far is to show how these three themes are related to one another in the context of an individual's lived experience. In other words, to describe the general structural coherence that unites the themes of involvement, coherence, and impact which characterize the participant group as a whole. This task is basic to phenomenological work, namely, to explicate the structure of experience, to show how the central themes exist in certain relations to one another, and to describe these relations systematically. On the basis of this research, four types of structural patterns emerged as constitutive of the experience of network members. Each of these typical structures represents a different constellation among the three themes, a distinct way in which they are related to one another.

The first typical structure is characterized by low involve-

ment in planning and support, a high degree of congruence between the network member and the retiree, and minimal but positive inpact on the network member's own life. Individuals whose experience takes this form perceive their friend's or relative's retirement as an event which touches their own life but does not restructure it in any significant way. They experience themselves as supportive, but at a distance. Since their view of the meaning of retirement is congruent with the relative's own view, there is little need for discussion or accomodation. Like business partners who work together in an amicable but separate way, they continue to live much the same kind of lives they led before the transition and assume that the retiree will make whatever changes in his/her own life that seem necessary or desirable. For these network members, the retirement is an important but not very consequential event, whose significance is felt far more acutely by the retiree than by others in his/her own life.

The second pattern is one where the degree of involvement in planning and support is low to moderate, there is a moderate degree of incongruence between the retiree and the network member, and there is some degree of impact, often negative, on the network member's own life. Here the friend's or relative's retirement is a significant life event for the network member, but not an entirely positive one. There is a sense of not really having a role to play in agreeing with the way the retiree is going about making the transition. As a consequence, there are mixed feelings about being called upon to provide support. These individuals experience the retirement as something which is turning out somewhat differently than they expected, and whose significance for their own lives is both greater, and more problematic in certain ways, than they would ideally prefer.

A third type of structural relation included high involvement in planning and strong support for the retiree, a high degree of congruence, and a moderate amount of positive change in the network member's life. This pattern in some ways represents an optimal way for the network member to experience the transition, in that a high level of involvement is accompanied by considerable satisfaction and the network member is able to shape the transition in ways that meet his/her own needs as well as those of the retiree. It is, therefore, interesting that only one individual in our participant group demonstrated this pattern. The others either did not look upon their friend's or relative's retirement as an opportu-

nity for positive change in their own lives, or if they did so, their attempts were frustrated by a lack of congruence between their own goals and those of the retiree.

The final pattern we observed was one with high involvement in planning and support, moderate incongruence between the retiree and the network, and at least a moderate degree of change, often negative, for the network. This pattern appears to be the most frustrating one for the network member, since his/her considerable involvement in the transition is associated with conflict and unwelcome changes. Individuals whose experience takes this form perceive themselves as having an active role to play in the transition, and yet they receive little satisfaction from this role. Like participants in a tug of war, they and the retirees go back and forth between their respective views of what the retirement should be like, unable to find a middle ground which can incorporate both sets of needs.

DISCUSSION

The phenomenological approach used in this study enabled us to focus on the ways in which the transition to retirement was experienced by members of the retiree's social network. Just as our earlier work made clear that retirement is not a monolithic process which means the same thing to all retirees, we can see from the above described findings that the same diversity occurs among members of the social network. If we are to understand the retirement transition in its full complexity we need to appreciate how it comes to take on a significance for each individual in ways relevant to his/her own life structure.

However, the fact that the experience of each of our participants seemed to fall within one of four general patterns demonstrates that the range of individual variations is not an infinite one. Herein lies part of the power of a phenomenological approach, in capturing both the uniqueness of individual experience and the structure imposed on that experience by the nature of the phenomenon itself.

In addition to providing a rich source of data regarding retirement, our findings have some significance for a more general understanding of the process of life transition. As we have pointed out elsewhere (Wapner, 1981; Wapner, Ciottone, Hornstein, McNeil & Pacheco, 1983), critical transitions challenge the existing

structure of an individual's life-world and thus provide an opportunity for change and growth. Whether this opportunity is resisted or welcomed depends on many things — the resources available for support, the individual's range of coping strategies, the degree of planning prior to the transition itself, etc. An important question here is whether research on transition processes can provide information which can help to optimize the experience for the individuals involved.

One way that this transition might be facilitated is to encourage retirees and members of their social network to discuss their respective expectations prior to the actual point at which retirement occurs. Such sharing would clearly not do away with every incongruence between their perspectives, but it would mean that each person's expectations would be known to the others. This might prevent the disappointment and disillusionment that occurs when faced with the discovery of a discrepancy after the transition has begun. For such discussions to be effective, individuals must do more than simply share their concrete plans. They would need to talk about their fantasies and hopes and the meanings that retirement holds for them.

Simply knowing that there is a range of ways in which network members experience their friend's or relative's retirement might help to dispel the notion, prevelant in our culture, that there is only one way to make the transition. Dissemination of information about the diversity of network members' perspectives might well occur during preretirement planning and counseling sessions, now conducted by most large companies. Many of our participants spoke angrily about the over-simplification and superficiality of many company programs. A greater emphasis on the experience as it is actually lived may overcome these criticisms.

Implicit in these suggestions about optimizing the process of transition is an assumption, derived from our recent formulations of organismic-developmental theory (Wapner, Ciottone, Hornstein, McNeil & Pacheco, 1983), that there exist different forms of person-environment relations which can be ordered developmentally. For example, an integrated relation is seen as more optimal than a conflicted or fused relation. On this view, when retirees and members of their social networks can integrate their diverse perspectives and flexibly adopt ways of interacting that are most appropriate their respective needs, they are moving toward a more developmentally advanced mode of adaptation.

REFERENCES

Atchley, R. C. (1971). Retirement and work orientation. *The Gerontologist, 11*, 29-32.

Cox, H. & Bhak, A. (1979). Symbolic interaction and retirement adjustment: An empirical assessment. *International Journal of Aging and Human Development, 9*, 279-286.

Crawford, M. P. (1971). Retirement and disengagement. *Human Relations, 24*, 255-278.

Darnley, F. (1975). Adjustment to retirement: Integrity or despair. *The Family Coordinator, 24*, 217-225.

Gelber, B. (1969). *A pilot study of scientists retired 1960 through 1963.* Fort Lauderdale, FL: Nova University.

Giorgi, A. (1970). *Psychology as a human science: A phenomenologically-based approach.* New York: Harper & Row.

Giorgi, A. (1971). Phenomenology and experimental psychology I and II. In A. Giorgi, W. F. Fischer & R. Von Eckartsberg (Eds.), *Duquesne studies in phenomenological psychology, Volume 1* (pp. 6-29). Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press.

Giorgi, A. (1975). An application of phenomenological method in psychology. In A. Giorgi, C. T. Fischer & E. L. Murray (Eds.), *Duquesne studies in phenomenological psychology, Volume 2* (pp. 82-103). Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press.

Hornstein, G. A. & Wapner, S. (in press). Modes of adaptation during the transition from full-time work to retirement. *International Journal of Aging and Human Development).*

Katona, G. (1970). *Survey of the condition of the retired.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Institutes for Social Research.

Keating, N. & Marshall, J. (1980). The process of retirement: The rural self employed. *The Gerontologist, 20*, 437-443.

Keen, E. (1982). *A primer in phenomenological psychology.* Washington, D. C.: University Press of America.

Lyons, J. (1970). The hidden dialogue in experimental research. *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology, 1*, 19-29.

Wapner S. (1981). Transactions of persons-in-environments: Some critical transitions. *Journal of Environmental Psychology, 1*, 223-229.

Wapner, S., Ciottone, R. A., Hornstein, G. A., McNeil, O. V. & Pacheco, A. M. (1983). An examination of studies of critical transitions through the life cycle. In S. Wapner & B. Kaplan (Eds.), *Toward a holistic developmental psychology* (pp. 111-132). Hillsdale, N. J.: Lawrence Erlbaum.

THE DWELLING DOOR: A PHENOMENOLOGICAL EXPLORATION OF TRANSITION

Richard Lang*

A meditation upon human dwelling reveals our primitive embodied existence, our being-in-the world. The notion of dwelling is the most *taken-for-granted* aspect of human existence; thus to understand this aspect of our being is to ask a disruptive question. Contemplating the notion of inhabiting discloses our primitive alliance with the world and thereby unsettles the natural "embeddedness" and forgetfulness of human existence. Subjective life is embodied existence; it is neither a dream that passes over reality, nor is it a surveying thought or a mechanical process. Human subjectivity involves us in the inherent limitations and possibilities of the flesh. To think within this context means to arouse the slumber of our dwelling, to reflect on the mysterious alliance between man and world; it means to begin to move toward an understanding of human habitation.

The primary center of human habitation is the home. In the first section of this essay we articulate how the home is incorporated or assimilated into the fabric of embodied existence; the home is our second body. In the next section we further elaborate this bodily act of incorporation by focusing on one facet of the home, i.e., the door. Here the intention is to reanimate the meaning of the door by demonstrating how ordinary doors embody human experience and thus reflect subjective life. To begin, we turn to the French existential-phenomenological psychologist Maurice Merleau-Ponty, whose work can be approached as a profound meditation on human embodied existence. The idea of inhabiting stands central to that meditation.

Merleau-Ponty (1942/1963, p. 168) shows how our body lives space by means of the interesting example of a soccer player. This soccer player does not encounter the field upon which he plays as an object. The soccer field is a domain permeated with "lines of force," articulated areas and pathways between adversa-

* Department of Psychology, Seattle University, Seattle, Washington 98122

ries which guides and solicits the active body to move in certain ways in accordance with the unfolding play. The soccer player is not a distant consciousness surveying the field as an object of thought; the field is given as "the immanent term of his practical intentions" and the vectors of force in it are constantly restructuring with his actions during the game. "The player becomes one with it and feels the direction of the goal . . . as immediately as the vertical and horizontal planes of his body." The player understands where the goal is in a way which is lived rather than known. The mind does not inhabit the playing field but the field is inhabited by a "knowing" body.

Inhabiting co-constitutes our primitive situation. Being an initiative of the active body, inhabiting is an intention and not merely a fact of nature; it is not just to be somewhere, to find oneself somewhere, but to inhabit a place. With subjectivity a radical metamorphosis sets in as the world is grasped in a new way. Inhabiting, the essential feature of subjective life, is the act of transformation where space becomes place. Inhabiting is itself an act of incorporation, of active and essential acquisition. Incorporation is the initiative of the active body, embracing and assimilating a certain sphere of foreign reality to its own body. Thus incorporation is essentially the movement from the strange to the familiar. This commerce of strange and familiar, which forms a central dialectic of human existence, is instituted and embodied in our dwelling, our home. The home is the intimate hollow we have carved out of the anonymous, the alien. Everything has been transmuted in the home; that is, within the home things have truly become annexed to our body, incorporated.

The act of transformation, for example, is disclosed when we move into a new residence. Though we may legally possess this abode, it does not belong to us at first. Somewhat like being a foreign face, the presence of the former occupant lingers about the house. If we are sensitive to this atmosphere, we are acutely aware of the alien texture of this reality. This new enclosure—the walls, the ceiling, the floor—is hard and crisp and foreign to the touch. It seems to face someone else, resisting us, failing to reveal itself. The labor of our caretaking turns this place into a home, into a place that addresses us as familiar, as belonging to us. This act of familiarization is performed as if by magic by the magic body. It is enacted at the most primitive level without the assistance of conscious thought. Thus, there comes a time when this house feels

familiar. At certain moments as we stand and move about in the house, we catch a sense of our active body communing in it. The atmosphere has become a warm and intimate texture as though the body has established a sort of uncanny alliance with it, a bodily understanding of it. It has become *of* the body, transmuted to the nature of the active body. Our existence as embodied finds a new access to the world in the home. The home becomes our second body.

Alphonso Lingis (1968) provides us with a simple but profound example of how the active body annexes a certain region of alien reality to its own body. In his description Lingis utilizes the most intimate site of the home, our noctural and erotic place, the bed:

> My bed was, the first night, crisp and brittle, foreign; little by little it has become Intimate. It has acquired a very decided and very obvious fleshy texture, as I lie enveloped with it I no longer distinguish were my body leaves off and where an alien surface begins. At first I had that very vivid awareness of these sheets *touching* me, an alien surface *in contact* with the frontiers of myself. Little by little, this frontier fades, obliterates itself, and becomes indefinite. The intimacy of the flesh diffuses throughout the whole bedsheet, finally into the bed itself, and the room also by a sort of contagion. They have become incorporated (Lingis, 1968, pp. 47-58).

In contrast to this experience of incorporation, Lingis speaks of a form of nausea in regards to the bedsheets of another. Because the bedsheets have been assimilated to the body, there is something indecent and repulsive about sleeping in someone else's bedding, something similar to lying with or even sitting too close to a stranger. As Lingis explains:

> Obviously this nausea is not aroused by something merely accidental, like their smelling, or being stained perhaps. Because after all we are not nauseated in sleeping in our own bedsheets even after they have become quite dirty, and, after all, there is nothing nauseating about sleeping outside, on the bare humus itself. This nausea is the flesh's revolt against what is not of itself; the flesh knows its own. One violates the home of another

like one violates a virgin (1968, pp. 56-57).

In this same manner, everything in the home becomes incorporated by the body; the body is extending itself through household things. We may take as an example the front door to a dwelling. If I am outside a stranger's beautiful Victorian house and I notice the door and desire to go immediately inside to view the ornate interior, I have a very strong impression of the difficult passage between this outside to that inside. This door is an imposing barrier; it is closed to my coming and going. But I do not experience my own front door as an obstacle; it is the portal, resembling a mouth, through which the outside and inside communicate. The house, via the door portal, is speaking to the outside; likewise, the house is looking out from its windows at the surrounding landscape. Through incorporation we have the very distinct experience of our home enveloping us as a kind of extended tissue of our own body. The home has been transformed into a region through which courses our life as it courses through our body. Thus our bodily existence is pulsating through the home, transforming a sphere of the anonymous in such a way that it becomes part of the self.

THE DOOR

Let us, then, return to the example of the door to further demonstrate how this common household object partakes in the domain of bodily existence, and how subjective life is embodied in things. The purpose of this inquiry is to highlight the psychological dimension of things. Though a door can be seen purely as a physical object, as the functional solution to transition, it also can be viewed as a new access and disclosure of the world. To think of the house as embodied, as a kind of second body, means to see it in all its aspects not as *thing* but as access to things. As De Waelhens (1974, p. 19) has said, "The body is not thing but access to things." The door is the incarnation of our experience of transition, animating in a lived and visible manner the dialectic of inside and outside, fundamentally presenting either a welcoming or rejecting face. The door is one of the expressive habitations of human experience.

What we have here is a shift from the traditional natural scientific attitude which understands objects as muted, inanimate, quantifiable things to a phenomenological attitude wherein things

speak the language of human experience. This shift in attitude or posture is made in order to recover psychological reality as a meaningful world and thereby to understand our involvement in situations. Here we adopt an attitude which understands the door as a mirror of the way in which we comprehend ourselves. As Merleau-Ponty (1945/1962, p. 383) succinctly says: "It is through my relation to 'things' that I know myself." As a physical object the door has measurable dimensions, is made of certain materials with consistent properties. As a practical object that I meet on my way, it is first of all access to an inside and an outside, it is disclosure and closure, it yields or resists, it beckons or rejects. Man cannot construct a door without in some way designing himself and installing a typical experience of transition.

A question so simple as "what is a door?" disturbs the familiarity and slumber of things as mere objects of use. When things are seen as merely material they don't *matter* any longer — the psychological has been forgotten. A phenomenological inquiry understands in this way, it seeks to reanimate the everyday things of our existence. To disclose the meaning of personal doors or the architectural doors of our culture is to comprehend how we live and embody transition in everyday existence, the life-world. Again, the intention is to show that from the perspective of phenomenological psychology, human experience is visible and expressive even in a common door. As the eminent Dutch psychotherapist J.H. van den Berg (1955, p.32) declares, "Who wants to become acquainted with man should listen to the language spoken by the things in his existence."

Following this provocative suggestion let us attend to the language spoken by doors. Doors close to tell us of our rejections or another's isolation, doors swing wide open like broad smiles to welcome our approach or doors sternly bar our way, imprisoning us by becoming impenetrable walls. Doors punctuate our tearful farewells or joyfully celebrate our reunions, doors are dramatically slammed during scenes of anger or resemble whispers when tentatively unlatched. Doors call us to an intimate enclosure when life's struggles become too demanding or threatening and embrace us in conviviality and familiarity, protecting us from the elements, the dangerous wilds and the anonymous. Through this portal the world comes to meet us: trusted neighbors, new friends, invited guests, intrusive salesmen, the afternoon breeze, the setting sun and the clockwork regularity of the paper boy. In a truly eloquent

comment Gaston Bachelard (1969, p. 224) addresses the expressive presence of the doors in our life and the stories they tell:

> How concrete everything becomes in the world of spirit when an object, a mere door, can give images of hesitation, temptation, desire, security, welcome and respect. If one were to give an account of all the doors one closed and opened, of all the doors one would like to re-open, one would have to tell the story of one's entire life.

The doorway is between outside and inside, between public and private, between anonymity and familiarity, between foreign and personal; doors frame our precious moments of meeting and parting, across this threshold passes our fate. Through doors we move from one world to another, here the first step of our journey commences and the last stride of our homecoming ends.

The vital significance of the door is expressed by the numerous religious activities surrounding this passageway. In many cultures there are elaborate rituals of transition, the doorposts are often inscribed with symbols and other sacred objects and the threshold is held to be sacred. For example, the opening and closing of the door and the passage of a man from his home into the outside world is a vital transition in Roman society; this critical event is under the power of a god, Janus. Janus is the famous two-faced god of passings. Janus Patulcius opens the door, and Janus Clusivius closes it (Ogilvie, 1969, p.11). Thus the door is simultaneously uniting and separating, it is a bridge of arrival and departure. The tension between the beginning and ending, the centripetal and centrifugal constitutes an essential aspect of the door. The door as a pivotal reality for our life literally swings on its hinges.

The central structure of the door is the threshold. The uniting and separating quality is most clearly visible in the threshold. With the institution and acceptance of the threshold, we install a radical discontinuity in human existence. In a poetic rendering Martin Heidegger (1954/1971, p. 204) highlights this cardinal structure:

> The threshold is the ground-beam that bears the doorway as a whole. It sustains the middle in which the two, the outside and the inside, penetrate each other. The threshold bears the between. What goes out and goes in, in the between, is joined in the between's dependability. The de-

pendability of the middle must never yield either way.

The religious scholar Mircea Eliade (1959, p.25) brilliantly speaks of the difference in existential space regarding the sacred threshold:

> For a believer, the church shares in a different space from the street in which it stands. The door that opens on the interior of the church actually signifies a solution of continuity. The threshold that separates the two spaces also indicates the distance between two modes of being, the profane and the religious. The threshold is the limit, the boundary, the frontier that distinguishes and opposes two worlds—and at the same time the paradoxical place where these worlds communicate, where passage from the profane to the sacred world becomes possible.

Let us consider in detail the cathedral portal because what occurs at this threshold clearly demonstrates a particular experience of transition. At the cathedral threshold we take pause from our everyday concerns. Here we reflect on the deeper dimensions of existence. It is only after we have performed the proper ritual of transition that we may pass over to the other side. The cathedral doorway marks the transformation of our profane path to a sacred journey, a journey which eventually leads up to the altar itself. The threshold proclaims and embodies a reflective pause between two worlds. As a spiritual gateway, the church portal beckons us to a movement in depth both in the spatial and psychological sense. The passage into this enclosure is also a movement through time because the doorway is a container of memory. At this portal, the historical quality of human existence is remembered in living stone. At the cathedral of Reims, for example, the immense embrasured portals are inscribed with numerous sculptured personages; the gateway is teeming with religious images. Here the Biblical text appears in stone and these images preserve the sacred history and tell the divine stories. By standing before the cathedral door we are taught the religious history of the world, the principles of the church, the examples of the saints, the roles of virtues, the place of science, arts and crafts. In a similar manner, at our humble residential door the temporal dimension is also preserved and manifested. The door of our home, where we hospitably receive others into our personal domain, is a

place of remembrance. Here at the site of our reunions and farewells, the persons and events of our past quietly continue to dwell. Our history is present at the portal, it is preserved in the benign lingering or haunting presence of the people who have passed through this gateway. Long-lost friends, former guests, inquisitive strangers, departed relatives, trusted neighbors, all are marginally present at the door entrance gathered by the enduring quality of remembrance. These intimate others are silent sentinels, standing as door posts to preserve and indirectly reflect who we have been and who we are. In this way the cathedral gateway, populated with religious personages, is making explicit what is generally implicit in our experience, revealing the sustaining presence of others at every door. The door is the symbol of human dialogue (Jager, 1973, pp. 13-16).

Though the door is the icon of intersubjectivity, it also speaks of a basic rift in our dialogue with others. By honoring the threshold we are accepting an essential limit in existence, marking a division in the homogenous space, establishing an outside and inside, installing a difference. As a radical discontinuity and a place of transition, the door also is a reminder to us of our final threshold, death's door. By accepting the threshold as an undeniable limit in life we welcome the tragic dimension of existence. At the doorway there is an intensification of life; here we become truly aware of shifts and turns in life, of openings and closings, of beginnings and ends, here we live concretely our transitions.

To contrast the cathedral door we turn to contemporary architecture to reveal another form of transition. What door best typifies the modern experience of transition? According to the architect Robert Venturi (1967, p. 71), "one of the powerful twentieth century orthodoxies has been the necessity for continuity between them: the insider should be expressed on the outside." The boldest way to achieve this so-called flowing space, the continuity of inside and outside, is by radically exaggerating glass windows. In modern architecture, we literally have walls of glass and even our doors, once solid wood borders, are glass constructions. Modern doors have become windows. How has our *experience* of doorways altered in accordance to this new architectural statement?

Standing before a glass door we are struck by an undeniable and paradoxical impression of being at two places at once. While bodily being outside of the building we are, simultaneously, visibly present inside. In contrast, at the cathedral doorway there is a

suggestion of what is inside but you envision this in imagination and await in anticipation. While the interior of the cathedral gradually discloses itself as we enter, before the modern glass door we have the unmitigated presentation of the interior. The transparent door is blurring or merging the juncture between the inside and outside. By subduing the threshold as a limit, the glass door is reflecting a modern desire for flowing space. Rather than the strict ritual demarcation of an inviolable domain, we moderns quest for a technological region, a world where any and all desires are effortlessly satisfied, a world where we may go anywhere and do anything. Modern technology has provided a previously unimaginable freedom of movement. How often we find that contemporary doors are mechanically operated as our mere presence trips an electric eye, and the door magically swings open. Here we move without any hesitation, there is not the slightest pause or deflection in our stride. As an invisible barrier, the glass door gives the impression that it is always open. This glass transition lulls us in the illusion that the door is always speaking in the affirmative, that is, being always accessible, being always open to us. But the door, even with its modern modifications, is a place of judgment, a yes and a no, disclosure and closure (Eliade, 1959). Though the glass door seems to refuse to say no, nevertheless it says no. We are rudely awakened to this fact when we forget the door and absent-mindedly walk inside, thus we dangerously collide into a glass boundary. Anyone who has a sliding glass door realizes the inherent jeopardy of this transition. From our phenomenological reading of the door it appears that this transparent transition is embodying the contemporary desire for uninterrupted progress, the experience of a totally accessible world. Thus the slight alternation of something "purely" material reveals significant psychological changes in our experience as it is embodied in things.

How our experience is incarnated in doors is further elaborated in another example. The door is an access and its accessibility is in relation to our attitude toward what lies beyond the threshold. When visiting the house of a friend, for instance, we confidently approach this hospitable door, invited by the familiar sounds of domestic life — the murmur of conversation, the laughter of children's voices, the clink of dinner plates and even the delicious aroma of the prepared meal permeates the doorway. Though presently outside of the house, we are already on our way to this receptive enclosure. The door is but a convenient screen

between us and the friends we are about to visit. Our knocking on the door already transports us into their company—the interior changes, the laughter abates, the conversation subsides and someone comes to greet us. Here the door has only partially held us back, we hardly notice its presence. The door effaces itself as a resisting object, while serving as a means through which we meet others. As the active body is our access to things and other people, likewise, the door as our second body is resounding this bodily access; it is the bridge to the world of others.

In this example the door is not primarily in need of paint or repairs, nor do we notice its ornate designs. The hospitable door stands as a benevolent and inviting shadow between us and our friends as the moment of meeting approaches. It is only when the interior of the house and its inhabitants acquire a hidden or ambivalent meaning that the door gradually transforms into a massive object which demands our attention for its own sake. It is at this moment that we no longer can reach beyond the door towards a receptive known interior, welcomed by others that the door materializes as a resisting object. The fully visible door speaks of an interrupted journey, that is, a disruption of our dialogue with others. When we are refused admittance to the interior, the door takes on the character of a substantial barrier; the door transforms as an inviting foreshadowing of a pleasant meeting to become a massive piece of laminated wood, with ornately carved designs, with metal decorations and cross braces. The door has now become primarily a surface spectacle, and we begin to notice and count the details of its construction. Our progress toward others is interrupted at this barrier — to be refused access to the interior, denied access to others is to be *obsessed* with the door. This predicament of being before the door is profoundly addressed by the Czech writer Franz Kafka.

KAFKA'S DOOR

The literary work of Franz Kafka, supplemented by his diaries and letters, provide us with a fascinating inquiry into the psychology of doors. Kafka's stories are teeming with doors—closed doors, open doors, anonymous doors, concealed doors, fake doors, secret doors. For Kafka, the door is a crucial meeting place of dialogue and encounter. Waiting before a door is one of the central themes of his work.

In the parable "Before the Law" which appeared in *The Trial* (Kafka, 1956), such fateful waiting is dramatically presented. Although the protagonist of this story is seeking an encounter with the divine, his dilemma can be interpreted as paradigmatic for all human meeting and dialogue. In this parable a man from the country appears after an arduous journey before the open door at the gate of the Law. Before this portal stands an ominous doorkeeper, and the provincial man begs the doorkeeper to be admitted to the Law. But the doorkeeper refuses his request at this time, and the man sits himself down on a stool beside the door in the vague hope of being admitted at some future time. As his waiting turns from days into years, the countryman makes many requests to be allowed entrance. He even attempts to bribe the doorkeeper by giving him valuable gifts but all appears in vain. During this endless period of waiting the poor fellow learns to know the insignificant fleas on the doorkeeper's fur collar and even begs the fleas to aid him to persuade the doorkeeper to change his decision. At first bitterly cursing his fate, now he only mumbles to himself and grows more childish as a result of his desperate vigil. What is the meaning of this inaccessible door, and how can we characterize the attitude of the countryman who sits waiting at the doorway?

The door interrupts our progress, blocks our access to the interior and thus poses us a question. Our practical projects and desires are curtailed at the doorway, we are no longer allowed to stride in a totally self-determined world. When confronted by the door the provincial man is unable to draw back from his steadfast quest for admission. He is unwilling to allow the door to become unattainable for a moment and thus interrupt his unrelenting advance. Before this gateway, he is unable to disentangle himself from his all-consuming preoccupation with the doorkeeper and consequently, his own existence remains concealed from view. Unaware that the door is a place of reflection, the country fellow fails to turn inward and to reveal thereby a new sensibility and a new understanding of himself and his fate.

His lack of self-reflection continues to the very end. Drawing near death and with his last breath, he asks the doorkeeper a practical question. "How does it come about, then, that in all these years no one has come seeking admittance but me?" (Kafka, 1956, p. 269). And the doorkeeper bellows for all of us to hear: "No one but you could gain admittance through this door, since

this door was intended only for you. I am going to shut it."

As the door shuts, it resonates through the body of the reader. The parable is telling a haunting but universal story. Kafka is arousing in us the basic longing and anxiety contained in all waiting. When will this closed door be opened? — this is the disquieting question. Being obsessed with admittance, the provincial man obstinately sits before the inaccessible door and the door emerges here as the gravitating end-point of all his intentions. The door is his predicament. To be denied admittance is to be obsessed with the door. The word obsession is derived from the Latin *obsidere* which means: to sit down before, besiege, occupy, possess. Thereby obsession is the attempt to gain forced entry by sitting before the city gate and waiting the occupants out; this is a tactic employed by a besieging army against a city fortress.

Is it not an intriguing connection, this relationship between the parable "Before the Law" and the etymology of obsession? What is suggested in Kafka's story is a psychology of the obsessional door. An entire psychology of the obsessive syndrome could be brought to light by pondering its association with the inaccessible door.

Regarding obsession and the door phenomenon the German psychologist Hans Göppert (1963) has written a fascinating and pertinent clinical contribution, entitled: "The Meaning of the Threshold in the Obsessive Syndrome." In Göppert's view the predominant feature of obsession is the desire to control. For example, when leaving a room the obsessive person must check and recheck whether the door was closed, the light turned off and the heater extinguished. If the person does not follow this impulse to control, then he is overwhelmed by anxiety. The impulsive acts to control, topographically considered, all take place at the point of crossing a border. For the obsessive, the border or threshold is a critical place of transition where he is confronted with his inability to either commence or terminate a relationship to someone, something, or somewhere. Here he experiences the impossibility of transitions which characterize this syndrome. In another context, the phenomenologist V. E. von Gebsattel (1958) cites a most interesting and related example. In this case study, H. H. suffers from this same threshold disturbance in the capacity to act. While standing in his room with his coat on, H. H. is unable to go out because he does not "know" whether he has really put on his coat. We see that an action can be literally executed and yet not be

experienced as being completed in a full sense. At this door of doing/undoing, the obsessive is in the grip of incessant doubt.

One of the earliest, historically observed features of obsession was that of obsessive doubt (Laughlin, 1967). Before the inaccessible door we are radically cut-off from others. Being thus denied the secure and trusted common world with others, we begin to critically doubt ourselves. In doubting we become a double self, being divided into both self and other. Here we move into a closed pseudo self-sufficient universe, condemned to live the impoverishment of a pseudo dialogue with ourselves. In doubt, our activity and progress is fundamentally interrupted, things come to a deadly standstill. Here our attention is drawn to irrelevant acts and insignificant details to ward off the encroaching anxiety and stagnation.

Thus the obsessive world is a universe at a standstill where we are blocked off from others and constructive activity. Without the purifying circulation of things, the world becomes polluted and we are threatened by the omnipresent encroachment of decay, disease, germs, dust, feces, urine, sweat, dirt, death (Von Gebsattel, 1958, pp. 178-179). Waiting at the inaccessible door dramatically depicts the obsessive predicament; here the door appears as destructive dam and the self is a stagnant pond.

CONCLUSION

The door is the access to the other, the site of human meeting, the place of dialogue, of judgment. The door is radically *intersubjective*, for it is the revelation of self and other. Psychologically, a door is most meaningfully disclosed when we are standing before it. To be before a door is in its deepest significance to be a sensitive attendant waiting for the manifestation of the other, for the appearance of the real. Our ritual of knocking on the door is the embodiment of respectful waiting or pause, it is not an empty gesture. With his respectful hesitation at the door which vividly demarcates a difference, we provoke a life of community, of being together with others-in-difference. We celebrate the vital difference between self and other and thereby make possible a meeting. At the doorway we respectfully await the other. In its purest mythic form, the man before the door is the stranger who journeys from afar, who solicits the real, who asks for admission. The dweller offers him his hospitality; the door is the meeting place of

host and guest, of man and world.

REFERENCES

Bachelard, G. (1960). *The poetics of space.* Boston: Beacon Press.

De Walhens, A. Quoted from Buytendijk, F. (1974). *Prologomena to an anthropological physiology.* Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press.

Eliade, M. (1959). *The sacred and the profane.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.

Göppert, H. (1963). Die bedeutung der schwelle in der zwangskrankheit. *Werden und handelm.* Stuttgart: Hippokates-Verlag.

Heidegger, M. (1971). *Poetry, language, thought* (A. Hofstadter, trans.). New York: Harper & Row. (Original work published (1954)

Jager, B. (1973). The Gilgamesh epic: A phenomenological exploration. *Review of Existential Psychology and Psychiatry, 12,* 1-44.

Kafka, F. (1956). *The trial.* New York: Knopf.

Laughtin, H. (1967). *The neuroses.* Washington: Butterworths.

Lingis, A. (1968). *Before the visage.* Unpublished manuscript, Duquesne University, Pittsburgh.

Merleau-Ponty, M. (1962). *Phenomenology of Perception* (C. Smith, trans.). New York: Humanities Press. (Original work published 1945)

Merleau-Ponty, M. (1963). *The structure of behavior* (A. Fisher, trans.). Boston: Beacon Press. (Original work published 1942)

Ogilvie, R. (1969). *The Romans and their gods in the age of Augustus.* London: Chatto & Windus.

van den Berg, J. (1955). *The phenomenological approach to psychiatry.* Springfield: Charles Thomas.

Venturi, R. (1967). *Complexity and contradiction in architecture.* New York: Museum of Modern Art.

von Gebsattel, V. (1958). The world of the compulsive. In R. May, E. Angel, & H. Ellenberger (Eds.), *Existence.* New York: Basic Books.

EXPLORING THE LIVED WORLD:
Readings in Phenomenological Psychology
edited by Christopher M. Aanstoos

This volume is designed to introduce the basic foundations of phenomenological psychology and to provide a selection of findings achieved through phenomenological research. Part One consists of three chapters, each examining key foundational issues of approach and method of a phenomenologically based psychology. Part Two includes five chapters that report results of concrete phenomenological studies of particular topics. In every case, these phenomena are taken up and understood in terms of their appearance in the world as it is lived. They represent a broad range of psychological subjects, covering such areas as clinical, developmental, environmental, medical, and social psychology. Together, they invite the reader to take the phenomenological turn: to examine the psychological world as it is lived, and thus to discover the fecundity of meaning therein.

WOMEN IN SPORT

Sociological and Historical Perspectives

Edited by

Amy L. Reeder and John R. Fuller

WEST GEORGIA COLLEGE

STUDIES IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Volume XXIV **1985**

WOMEN IN SPORT:

SOCIOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

Amy L. Reeder and John R. Fuller
Volume Co-editors

CONTENTS

		Page
Foreword	*Robert H. Claxton*	iii
Preface	*Amy L. Reeder and John R. Fuller*	1
The Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women: The End of Amateurism in U.S. Intercollegiate Sport	*Joan M. Chandler*	5
The Educational Achievement of College Athletes by Gender	*Dean A. Purdy, D. Stanley Eitzen, and Rick Hufnagel*	19
Closing or Widening the Gender Gap? Boys' and Girls' Interscholastic Sports in Mississippi	*David H. Demo*	33
Sport and Feminism in North America	*Nancy Theberge*	41
English Riding as a Woman's Sport: The Social Psychology of the Equestrienne	*Roger B. Trent, Patricia Metz Adrian, and Eileen Burke-Trent*	55
Contributors		71

RECEIVED
JUN 18 1985
PERIODICALS DEPT.
Irvine Sullivan Ingram Library
CARROLLTON, GEORGIA

TITLES IN PRINT

$2.00 each:

Vol. XIII, 1974, *American Diplomatic History: Issues and Methods.*

$3.00 each:

Vol. XIV, 1975, *Political Morality, Responsiveness, and Reform in America.*

Vol. XVI, 1977, *Essays on the Human Geography of the Southeastern United States.*

Vol. XVIII, 1979, *The Southeastern United States: Essays on the Cultural and Historical Landscape.*

$4.00 each:

Vol. XIX, 1980, *Sapelo Papers: Researches in the History and Prehistory of Sapelo Island, Georgia.*

Vol. XX, 1981, *Games Without Frontiers: Essays for a Protean Sociology.*

Vol. XXI, 1982, *Supply-Side Economics: Pro and Con.*

Vol. XXIII, 1984, *Exploring the Lived World: Readings in Phenomenological Psychology.*

Send Orders to:
Studies in the Social Sciences
West Georgia College
Carrollton, Georgia 30118

($1.00 discount per copy with standing orders or orders of ten or more to one address.)

Copyright © 1985, West Georgia College

Printed in U.S.A.

Darby Printing Company

715 West Whitehall Street, S.W.

Atlanta, Georgia 30310

Price for this volume: $4.00

Cost: $1428.00

500 copies

ISSN 0081-8682

FOREWORD

Since its beginning over twenty years ago, the West Georgia College *Studies in the Social Sciences* has provided background to current issues and offered opportunities for younger scholars to present findings in new specializations. This issue continues those traditions with the theme of "Women in Sport."

Investigators, upon examination of objective data, find two seemingly contradictory trends in the progress of the women's movement in the 1970's and early '80's. On the one hand, nearly two-thirds of American women over the age of sixteen now work outside the home. Some women serve in government on all levels of elective and appointive office. More and more young women choose careers in professions like law, medicine, business management, or space exploration. Academe has accepted women's studies as a legitimate discipline, served by research centers and learned journals.

Other evidence suggests less change, indifference, or firm opposition to change. The requisite number of states has never ratified the Equal Rights Amendment. One survey in 1981 indicated that the majority of Americans felt that there was no discrimination against women. Observers of poverty found that the majority of impoverished adults were female. In recent years, the federal government has de-emphasized "affirmative action" and discounted the theory of pay by "comparable worth." The irreconcilable controversy over legalized abortion moved from informed debate to violence and divided activist women.

Researchers can study trends affecting all of society by examining one segment of that society. For example, in the past such segments included churches, business corporations, labor unions, or women's organizations. Now, more attention has been given a new specialization: the study of sports as one more facet of society.

"Sports Studies" is not just for sociologists; it is interdisciplinary. There is a North American Society for Sport History. The Organization of American Historians has published a sport history guide for teachers. A *Journal of Sport Literature* began in 1983. The Wenner-Gren Foundation funded an anthropological study of the 1984 Los Angeles Summer Olympics. North-

eastern University has created a Center for the Study of Sport in Society.

Sport left the playing fields long ago. Two examples illustrate sport permeation of popular culture. Our language borrows from sport to describe life's predicaments: frustration ("can't get to first base," "stymied" or "treading water"), dating behavior ("playing the field," "making a pass," and "scoring"), taking responsibility ("the ball is in your court." "all my bases are covered," "facing hurdles," and "behind the eightball"), taking risks ("skating on thin ice" or "giving a ball park figure"), lacking good sense ("playing out in left field" or "not rowing with both oars in the water"), and persistence ("fight the good fight," "tackle the problem," and "reach a goal").

Movie themes provide another example of sport in popular culture. The record of the past ten years shows an amazing variety of kinds of sports and comments about society.

1975	*The Other Side of the Mountain*	(skiing)
1976	*Rocky*	(boxing)
1977	*Pumping Iron*	(weight lifting)
1978	*The One and Only*	(professional wrestling)
1979	*Breaking Away*	(cycling)
1979	*Ice Castles*	(figure skating)
1981	*Chariots of Fire*	(track)
1982	*Sixpack*	(auto racing)
1983	*All the Right Moves*	(high school football)
1984	*Karate Kid*	(karate)
1984	*The Natural*	(baseball)

Several films have featured women athletes: *Kansas City Bomber, See How She Runs, Little Mo, Wilma*, and *Babe*. Producer Vincenzo Labella added the innovation of a female gladiator to his 1985 historical miniseries, "A. D."

On an academic level, various researchers have already demonstrated ways the world of sport has reflected changes in society. The 1876 creation of the National League of Professional Baseball Clubs was but one example of hundreds of national associations, corporations, unions, and other organizations the transportation and communication revolution made possible. The rebirth of the Olympic Games in 1896 paralleled the acceptance of international law and the establishment of the Permanent Court of Arbitration (1899), as well as the Nobel Peace Prize (1901), Jackie Robinson's breakthrough in major league

baseball in the 1940's anticipated the breakdown of rigid segregation in the '50's. In the 1970's, citizen disillusionment with political leaders mirrored fan bewilderment over highly paid athletes being indicted for serious crimes. Major cities measured their modernity and prosperity by the grandeur of their stadiums. Today, some scholars see sport becoming a secular substitute for organized religion. Others see sport as a new version of the Turnerian frontier of opportunity, the scene of a different kind of gold rush. This volume explores the degree to which sport registers the gains or losses in the women's movement for equality.

The volume co-editors were recipients of a West Georgia College Faculty Research Grant last year for the study of Women in Sport. This volume is the result of their on-going interest in the subject. With apologies to our Canadian contributors and readers, we have edited all spelling to a consistent American English. A special word of appreciation is due Mrs. Shirley Tanner who prepared the manuscripts. The opinions and conclusions are the authors'; West Georgia College remains a neutral forum for the consideration of all points of view.

Robert H. Claxton,
General Editor

PREFACE

It is hard to overestimate the influence that sport has on our culture. In a subtle and pervasive manner sport both reflects the features of society and shapes those features. It may be that sport trails only the institutions of the family and the school in the amount of influence it has in the socialization of children. Sport instills values and attitudes across a complex of critical social issues, which include self concept, attitude toward unlike others, sex role, and proclivity for competition as opposed to cooperation.

Another reason sport is such an important influence in the human social condition is the impressive amount of time and resources which it commands. With players' salaries reaching over one million dollars as a matter of routine and pro football teams selling for $75 million, it is clear that big time sport is big time business. People spend an increasing amount of time at leisure either participating in or watching sport. Given the significance of sport in society, it is surprising that it has received so little attention by scholars. While the mechanisms of how to play sport and who won/lost are extensively covered by the media and trade magazines, it has been only recently that the field of sport has received serious attention by researchers. Now there are academic journals devoted to the psychology and philosophy of sport and at least three journals dealing with the sociology of sport. The in-depth systematic attention that sport is receiving has led schools to add sport study classes to their programs outside the Physical Education tracks. In fact, sport scholarship is emerging as a truly interdisciplinary field of study.

Within the field of sport studies, one of the areas receiving considerable attention is Women in Sport. Because of a number of reasons but most importantly as a result of the women's movement and Title IX of the Education Act, Women in Sport as an area of academic study has mushroomed. Books, journal editions, and conferences have been solely devoted to exploring the issues which surround the growing participation of women in sports.

The interdependence of sport and culture is nowhere clearer than in the Women in Sport issue. The patterns of sport interaction and noninteraction for women can tell us a great deal about our society. Interest in these patterns of women's sport participation represents the primary reason we have gathered the following studies together. The diversity of theoretical approaches and sub-

ject foci coming from the Women in Sport area presents an amazing array of fine studies by scholars in many fields. For this volume on Women in Sport, we have selected five works which illustrate both the range of this diversity and its richness.

Our first selection is a look at the organizational politics in the governance of women's sport by Joan M. Chandler. The nature of women's games is affected by who makes the rules and drums the beat, and according to Chandler, the positive features of amateurism have suffered with the recent changes in the governance of women's sport at the college level.

Dean A. Purdy, D. Stanley Eitzen, and Rick Hufnagel look at the relationship between educational attainment and athletic participation for a sample of male and female college athletes. They find that females generally scored higher on educational attainment measures, but they further suggest that females may lose this educational achievement edge in the future.

David H. Demo presents a study of the resources allocated by high schools to their students in terms of number of sports offered to males and females. The results are predictable, but Demo looks further and concludes that in some areas the female high school student in Mississippi now has a reasonable access to organized sport.

Nancy Theberge discusses the emergence of the feminist perspective in the academic study of sport and the significance of women's sport participation to the larger feminist struggle. In this detailed essay on the links of feminism to sport, Theberge attunes us to the male bias from which our understanding of sport suffers.

In our last selection, Roger Trent, Patricia Metz Adrian and Eileen Burke-Trent use one of the classics in Sociology to explain the preponderance of women participants in English riding. Employing Veblen's *Theory of the Leisure Class* as a theoretical perspective, the authors use three modes of observation to look at a unique sport in terms of female success.

Together these five works represent an idea of how satisfying serious study of the relationships between the status of women and the participation of women in sports can be. Our intention in producing this volume has been to highlight important and interesting subjects and findings of scholars in this emerging field of

study. To the extent we have been successful in this effort, we hope that others will be stimulated to add to the body of literature in this area.

Amy L. Reeder
Assistant Professor of Sociology
Volume Co-Editor

John R. Fuller
Assistant Professor of Sociology
Volume Co-Editor

THE ASSOCIATION FOR INTERCOLLEGIATE ATHLETICS FOR WOMEN: THE END OF AMATEURISM IN U. S. INTERCOLLEGIATE SPORT

Joan M. Chandler*

When the Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW) was formed in 1971 "to provide governance and leadership dedicated to the assurance of standards of excellence and education soundness in women's collegiate athletics" (Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women, 1981-82, p. 1), its organizers believed that they could provide a model for American intercollegiate athletics quite different from that of men. The AIAW certainly wanted to help women students come "out of the bleachers" (Twin, 1979) and prepare as thoroughly as men for the highest levels of competition, under the best coaches, and with the kinds of equipment and facilities college male athletes had always enjoyed. But at the same time, no female student was to be treated as grist for the college athletic mill. Instead, as the last revision of the AIAW "Students' Bill of Rights" expressed it, she had "the right to be treated as a student, as an individual of worth, with both dignity and respect in all aspects of her athletic experience."[1] The individual, not the college's won-lost record, was the AIAW's prime concern.

When the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) put the AIAW out of business in 1982,[2] this tradition of amateurism died, and female students were coopted willy-nilly into the male commercial tradition. The purpose of this paper is to show how and why the AIAW's aspirations and activities did not represent something new for female athletes in and out of college,

---

* Direct correspondence to: University of Texas at Dallas, Box 688, Richardson, Texas, 75083.

This article is a very much revised version of a paper presented at the 12th Annual Convention of the North American Society for Sport History in 1984. I am deeply grateful to Betty Spears for her comments on the original.

[1] This "Students' Bill of Rights" (AIAW n.d.) was the "very last revision of AIAW, never printed in new handbook due to going out of business." D. Lopiano, AIAW past President (personal communication, 1982).

[2] The AIAW went out of business on June 30, 1982, because the NCAA decided to offer women's championships in Division I, and the AIAW lost both members and revenue as a result. The AIAW sued the NCAA on antitrust grounds, but lost. (For a brief review of the judge's decision see Fields, 1983).

but the last gasp of a singular philosophy. The AIAW's existence marked the end of an era, not its beginning.

No satisfactory definition of "amateurism" has yet been propounded. (For a discussion of some of the inherent difficulties see Glader, 1978 and VanderZwaag, 1976.) The Amateur Athletic Club of England published the first known "official" definition in 1866, which included provisions against competing for money, or against professionals, or as a means of earning a living, or being occupied as a manual worker (Glader, 1978, p. 100). So uncertain was the matter, that in 1902 the International Olympic Committee (IOC) inquired from individual sports associations how they each defined an amateur (Glader, 1978, p. 132). The replies did not lead to agreement, and the IOC has continued to struggle with the problem ever since. In 1909 the NCAA produced its first affirmative definition of an amateur; amateurs "played," professionals were those who exercised their talents to secure "material or economic reward" (Savage, 1929, p. 42). By 1929, Savage suggests that "the concepts 'amateur' and 'amateurism' . . . may be regarded as fairly well unified in purpose and spirit, if not in phrasing." Amateurs were those who played according to the spirit of the game, for its own sake; they neither expected nor accepted monetary or other material rewards for their efforts (Savage, 1929, pp. 44-45).

Intrinsic to all these attempts at definition is the belief that it is the process, not just the end result, which matters. As Pierre de Coubertin wrote, " 'The important thing in the Olympic Games is not to win but to take part. The important thing in life is not to have conquered but to have fought well.' " (as cited by Czula, 1975, p. 12). In 1968, Avery Brundage wrote:

> The amateur sportsman . . . does not want to be part of a troop of trained seals for the amusement of the public . . . he plays for his own entertainment . . . The man who climbs the Matterhorn or who runs a four-minute mile does not expect to find a pot of gold when he arrives. He has not conquered nature; he has conquered himself. (pp. iv-v)

Even spectators have learned the lesson, the boos which greeted Carl Lewis after he had won the long jump in the 1984 Olympics were a spontaneous expression of the crowd's disapproval of his lack of exertion. Lewis certainly had won, but in

doing so, he had not "fought well." He was (very sensibly) husbanding his strength for the races in which he hoped to win three more medals, but such behavior smacks of calculation, a mark of the professional.

The ideals of amateurism, whatever its practice,[3] are thus broadly understood the world over. An amateur does his/her best, hoping of course to win, but chiefly because he/she wants to derive all that is possible from the competition itself. That very competition, undertaken in a spirit of sportsmanship, may draw each competitor to heights he/she could not have reached in any other context. But for the amateur life does not consist of athletics, although the attitudes of mind needed in sports may well carry over to other pursuits.

Athletics for college women from their inception epitomized amateurism. Physical training for college women was originally designed to counteract the supposedly excessive strain intellectual work would put on a woman's health (Squires, 1982); quite rapidly athletics became "delights" in themselves, as well as a means "of possessing a strong and beautiful body for both use and ornament." By the end of the nineteenth century, the conduct of men's athletic programs was an educational scandal; proponents of athletics for women were sure they "must avoid the evils which are so apparent to thoughtful people in the conduct of athletics for men." For women, athletics were first to be a means to "health of body and mind" and second, were to be made available to as many women as possible. Unlike men's colleges, where a few athletes were taught to win at all costs, women's colleges in 1903 were already clear that "Women have a different object in athletics from men. Health is ours, moderate effort bringing pleasure with it, but competition is secondary" (Hill, 1903, pp. 3-5, 339).

It could, of course, be argued that women's colleges at the turn of the century were not espousing amateurism as such, but physical fitness. Had, however, that been the case, no discussion of the problem of competition would have arisen. In 1892 Senda Berenson introduced basketball to her Swedish gymnastic classes at

---

[3] Every sport for which admission has ever been charged has had its "shamateurs." Even the Olympics have not been immune. Between 1962 and 1969 the IOC ruled that college scholarship holders were not amateurs; but no American was ever banned from the Olympics on these grounds (Glader, 1978, p. 173). "Amateur" track athletes now set up trust funds, the 1948 U.S. women's volleyball team was said to have practiced together full time for eight years. The gap between the "ought" and the "is" in amateur athletics has always been a gulf.

Smith, to add interest (Squires, 1982, p. 103). Interclass competition almost immediately aroused great excitement, and by 1896 women's intercollegiate basketball games were being played on the West coast although the Eastern colleges frowned on such activity (Kenney, 1982, p. 111). The power brokers in women's college athletics were quite certain that intercollegiate competition for women could only lead women's colleges down the path of the men. In men's colleges, even before 1900, games organized by students for fun had been replaced by a commercialized spectacle (Lewis, 1965). Women college physical educators therefore fought tooth and nail against high level competition.

In England, upperclass males fought for the principles of amateurism. Their battle was not with colleges, because college sport was not commercialized, and not with competition per se because it did not occur to the affluent to make winning, as distinct from playing, a measure of personal or collective worth. In England, the battle was fought against men who were paid to play (Mangan, 1981; Tischler, 1981). The symptoms of commercialism were different, but the evil was the same. A game was supposed to be played as an end in itself; either high level college competition (in the U.S.) or professionals (in England) could turn a game into merely a means to a commercial end.

The sorry tale of chicanery and abuse which led the Carnegie Foundation in 1929 to dub college football "a profitable professional enterprise" (Savage, 1929, p. viii) is well known. As early as 1899, the professional football coach at Columbia hired outsiders to play on the team which beat Yale. His activities were discovered, but he was hired again the next year. This and similar abuses were discussed in popular press articles such as "The college athlete: How commercialism is making him a professional" (Needham, 1905). College presidents were helpless; John Abercombie resigned in 1911 after battling alumni over football for three years, because, as he said, "I have no ambition whatever to preside over a corruptly conducted athletic club though it be called by the dignified name of the University of Alabama" (Lewis, 1965, p. 170). Whatever the official protests, spectators flocked to college stadiums; by 1914, Yale could seat 61,000 (Lewis, 1965, p. 278); in 1926, 110,000 watched the Army-Navy game; in 1929, 112,912 watched Notre Dame beat Southern California (Weyand, 1961, pp. 146, 149).

By 1929, college football had long since ceased to be a recre-

ation. The Carnegie Foundation, in the most scathing indictment of college athletics ever made, minced no words:

> The paid coach, the gate receipts, the special training tables, the costly sweaters and extensive journeys in special Pullman cars, the recruiting from the high school, the demoralizing publicity showered on the players, the devotion of an undue proportion of time to training, the devices for putting a desirable athlete, but a weak scholar, across the hurdles of the examinations—these ought to stop and the intercollege and intramural sports be brought back to a stage in which they can be enjoyed by large numbers of students and where they do not involve an expenditure of time and money wholly at variance with any ideal of honest study. (Savage, 1929, p. xxi)

Meat on the Hoof (Shaw, 1972) could have been written at any time during the last fifty years.

It was against this background that women college physical educators developed their philosophy. As Lewis has shown, by 1936 male physical education departments had "been reconstructed not for the purpose of fulfilling the ideal of education for all through sports and athletics but to serve the interests of intercollegiate athletics" (Lewis, 1969, p. 38). Athletics for college males had become simply a tool for the university's public relations office. Female college physical educators fiercely resisted such a trend, and were left free to organize their play days, telegraphic meets, and other substitutes for high level competition at least partly because American commercialized sport revolved around men. Famous as she was in Europe, so uncertain was Suzanne Leglen about the possibilities of her U.S. tennis tour in 1926 that she demanded her money in advance (Menke, 1975, p. 979). Jack Kramer tried for years to promote women tennis players and failed (Kramer, 1979). No college or university could hope to promote itself by turning women's sport into a "profitable professional enterprise," so women physical educators could continue to think of themselves as educators.

While male physical education departments were hoisted on the commercial petard, female physical education departments were marching to a different drummer. In 1930, the Women's Division of the National Amateur Athletic Federation (NAAF) con-

ducted a nationwide survey of intercollegiate athletics for women.[4] Only twelve of the 98 colleges studied had a women's program of intercollegiate athletics and few regretted their lack of it. As Mabel Lee, the author of the study wrote:

> There exists a great fear that once intercollegiate athletics for women gain a foothold, college women might become involved in the same athletic predicament of their brothers. The director who replies in the following strain seems to voice the opinion of the great majority when she says, 'I would approve of a program of intercollegiate athletics for women if it would actually be conducted as amateur sports should be conducted but not as men's intercollegiate athletics are conducted in this country!' (1931, p. 109)

The 1933-34 Athletic Handbook of the Women's Athletic section of the APEA contained modified rules for track and field "to make performance easier for the average girl or woman" (Howland, 1934, p. 55). Van Vleet (1944), in the *Journal of Health and Physical Education* remarked, "The work of the [National] Section [on Women's Athletics] is based upon the belief that the one purpose of athletics for girls and women is the good of those who play" (p. 9). In 1948, the author of a study on women's physical education in California junior colleges did not inquire about extramural activity (Wollett, 1948). In 1950, a study on women's extramural competition was done by the National Association for Physical Education of College Women. Twenty-eight percent of the 320 colleges studied had varsity-type competition; of these, sixteen percent reported no undesirable features of competition, but another eleven percent felt that the limited number of participants was undesirable. This varsity-type competition was apparently rarely publicized, as admission was "seldom charged" (White, 1954, pp. 352, 359, 360).

What we see going on here is not only what Gerber and others have so ably documented, (Gerber, 1975; Gerber, Felshin, Berlin & Wyrick, 1974), which is that women athletes were being

---

[4] Mabel Lee, who organized this survey, was militantly opposed to women's intercollegiate athletics. I have not seen the NAAF archives, but there is some probability that Lee chose her respondents with care. Her position, however, reflected the "official" party line; her report was published and was not publicly queried; she and like-minded women continued to dominate the NAAF and other nationally powerful college women's athletic organizations.

asked in college to conform to prevailing ideas of female roles. That is certainly part of the truth, but there is more to it than that. Women college physical educators continued to insist that women should play team sports, although whenever they were asked about it, female students clearly demonstrated their preference for individual and socially acceptable sports (see, for instance, Broer & Holland, 1954; Moore, 1941; Moyer, Mitchem, & Bell, 1966; Waggoner, 1935). Had college physical educators been concerned only about femininity and fitness they would surely have stressed instruction in golf, tennis, dancing, and boating, all very "suitable" sports. But educators wanted female students to learn the good sportsmanship, cooperation, and other values supposed to accrue from team play, without the evils they considered inherent in high level competition and its attendant commercialism.

Their beliefs are clearly demonstrated in their transformation of basketball (Welch, 1982). By 1926 women's intercollegiate basketball had become extremely popular, and was a fast-paced, energetic game which attracted spectators nationwide. Blanche Trilling, a leader of the National Amateur Athletic Foundation's Women's Division, passionately denounced the game at a meeting of the National Association of Deans of Women in 1927. Among other evils, she deplored male coaches' emphasis on winning with a resulting lack of concern for the physical well-being of players, and the time and energy-consuming nature of the activity for the benefit of a very small number of players. By 1940, the National Section on Women's Athletics of the American Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation (AAHPER) had succeeded in pushing through rule changes which had turned women's basketball into a game no one would want to watch, and few athletes would care to play. It was, however, a game which any unskilled, untalented student could take part in, and was officiated and coached by women. It had all the virtues of amateur athletics, except that of allowing the best athletes to test themselves to their limits. High school and college women interested in "real" basketball turned to city leagues, sometimes playing under false names.

Other sputterings of revolt were dealt with by ostracism (Lucas & Smith, 1982). In 1941, Gladys Palmer and some colleagues at Ohio State University set up the Women's National Collegiate Golf Tournament. They persevered with it over the years, even

though the women leaders of the AAHPER stopped speaking to them and made sure they were kept out of national office in that organization.

The female college physical educators who held the power in their profession were not content to damp down female competitive aspirations in college. De Coubertin consistently opposed women's participation in the Olympic Games; so did American women college physical educators. The Committee on Women's Athletics vigorously opposed the entry of American women in the 1922 Paris "Women's Olympics" sponsored by the Federation Sportive Feminine Internationale. American women entered the Game, regardless; the American Athletic Union then took charge of female international athletic competition (Lucas & Smith, 1982, p. 245).

The Women's Division of the National Amateur Athletic Federation, formed in 1923, drew its members largely from the Committee on Women's Athletics (Lucas & Smith, 1982, p. 247). They proceeded to use the new organization to continue their opposition to American women's participation in the Olympic Games. They officially opposed the entry of American women in the 1928 Games, and used the withdrawal or collapse of the eleven female entrants in the 800-meter race as the basis of their 1930 petition to the International Olympic Committee to get women's track and field events out of the Olympics altogether. The IOC did, in fact, remove the 800-meter race from the 1932 Olympics, but added the 80-meter hurdles and javelin throw for women. Both of these events were won by the American Babe Didrikson (Lucas & Smith, pp. 249-250).

Didrikson, however, had not received her training at college. Coming from the wrong side of the tracks, she was sponsored by her employers. While male American athletes received scholarships and coaching at least in those Olympic events which fitted in with college public relations, American women had to get their Olympic training outside college, because their mentors were busily organizing games for everyone. Only in some Black colleges were women athletes systematically trained; Wilma Rudolph won her 1960 gold medal because she held a track scholarship at Tennessee State University.

So whatever was taking place on a small scale within women's colleges, and outside them among the rich who could af-

ford individual tuition,[5] or the working class who were sponsored by industry, women who held the power in and patronage over college athletics managed to maintain their own tradition. Its essentials dated from the turn of the century, and lasted in much the same form well into the 1960's.

The AIAW seemed to represent a revolution. The most talented female college athletes were now to be encouraged to excel, rather than deliberately being kept from it. But the revolution was more apparent than real, and the AIAW's perpetuation of the other facets of the amateur ideal brought about its downfall.[6]

Like their forebears, the AIAW deliberately constructed its rules to discourage the professionalism of men's college athletic programs.[7] That is, college sport was to be an avocation, not a profession; participation, not victory, was the goal. Specifically, AIAW officials refused to allow their members to promote *The Recruiting Game* (Rooney, 1980). The AIAW did not allow prospective student athletes to be contacted off-campus, thus obviating the male recruiting campaigns with their huge concomitant expense, road trips for coaches, and stress on both the recruiters and recruited. AIAW athletic departments were not allowed to pay the expenses of prospective student athletes to visit the college campus, nor were they allowed to initiate telephone or written contact with prospective athletes, although they were permitted to answer enquiries. In other words, female prospective student-athletes, unlike their male counterparts, were not to be regarded like Kipling's Kangaroo as "popular and wonderfully run after by five this afternoon."

In keeping with the AIAW philosophy of encouraging participation, AIAW institutions were allowed to select different competitive divisions for different sports; the NCAA required all men's and women's sports except one to compete in the same division. That is, under AIAW rules no institution necessarily had to become an athletic powerhouse in order to attract top women

---

[5] Competitors in events such as figure-skating needed years of expensive training, funds for which could only come from parents or other private sponsors.

[6] The actual steps by which the AIAW lost its autonomy have not yet appeared in print, but have been traced by Joan Hult. I am less concerned here with the actual power struggle between the AIAW and the NCAA than with what I take to be a clash of philosophies.

[7] Specific details of comparison between AIAW and NCAA practices are taken from notes supplied by Donna Lopiano, to whom I am most grateful. She is not, of course, responsible for my interpretation of those facts.

competitors in any particular sport; nor was any coach under pressure to step up recruiting or resort to other undesirable tactics to insure that her sport matched the rest. The NCAA put on only thirty-two National Championships in thirteen sports when the AIAW was offering forty-one National Championships in nineteen sports.

Unlike the NCAA, the AIAW was "housed in an educational organization, the AAHPER." Students were included in its governance structure, and individual colleges were expected to exercise the kind of control over female athletes the NCAA exerted over males (Davenport, 1979). In keeping with this philosophy, individual colleges were expected to pay team expenses for tournament costs; the NCAA assumed that burden collectively.

What, in fact, the AIAW was doing was to reaffirm the principles on which female college athletics had been conducted for eighty years. The high level training and competition opened to college women by the AIAW was to benefit the individuals involved as an end in itself; the AIAW sedulously avoided efforts to make those individuals means for the pursuit of glory by colleges, coaches, or alumni. The AIAW did what its members believed to be "best" for women athletes, allowing the commercial chips to fall where they might.

Why the AIAW believed they would be subsidized to play the amateur game while incurring professional charges to do it, is an interesting question, for they had no substantive power base, either on or off campus. As there was no tradition of high level team or individual competition in women's college sport, the AIAW had no powerful and loyal groups of alumni willing and ready to subsidize women's college sport. As the female college athletic programs had no firm links with professional sport, there was no prestigious group off campus which could be called upon to raise the credibility on campus of the female physical educators, who in the campus pecking order normally ranked just above faculty members in education. Title IX, while initially providing the funding for women's college sport, in fact brought about its demise as an autonomous entity, because male-dominated campuses were not prepared to subsidize athletic activities they did not control. As long as women's college sport did not impinge on male athletic budgets, women physical educators were allowed to go their own way; as soon as women's programs were inroads on receipts, the male "profitable professional enterprises" took steps

to insure that he who pays the piper should call the tune.

In resisting the siren call of commercialism, the AIAW was holding true to past traditions. College women were originally kept from competing strenuously because it was believed to endanger their health and their roles as women; now, they were not to be recruited strenuously because that was believed to endanger their mental health and their roles as students. College women's sport had previously been kept free from the taint of commercialism because that was believed to undermine the intrinsic values of sport engaged in for its own sake. Although the AIAW sought TV contracts, they shied away from the high-powered recruiting and creation of athletic powerhouses, which alone would make women's sport worth televising. College women had previously been treated primarily as students; the AIAW wished to continue that treatment, without considering how any student could simultaneously expend the time and energy necessary to become a champion and to graduate.[8] As their predecessors had fought for autonomy, so the AIAW set in place a tournament and coaching structure planned, staffed, and officiated by women.

In continuing to stress the amateur philosophy of the value of participation over that of victory, the AIAW was deliberately and consciously stressing a philosophy of sport which vanished even from Harvard in the early twentieth century (Sack, 1973) and has never been accepted anywhere else by the power brokers of men's sport in the United States. When the AIAW died, the amateur tradition in college sport died with it. To my mind, student athletes, male and female, would be less abused if we treated them as the professionals they undoubtedly are. But as hypocrisy is a necessary condition for survival among intercollegiate athletic empires, the best we can probably do is to mourn the passing of hope for an alternative. Only in the United States is college sport professionalized; males elsewhere are able to maintain in college the amateur model women fought for in America. But times change. In American college athletics the AIAW represented not the future, but the past.

---

[8] At the University of Utah, "Since the implementation of Title IX guidelines, female athletes' graduation rates have evidenced a steady and alarming decline" (Henschen & Fry, 1984, p. 55).

REFERENCES

Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women. (1981-82). *AIAW handbook*. Washington, D.C.: AIAW Publications.

Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women. (No date). Unpublished manuscript.

Broer, M.D., & Holland, D.A.J. (1954). Physical education interests and needs of University of Washington women in service classes. *Research Quarterly, 25* (4, December), 387-397.

Brundage, A. (1968). Guest editorial. *Quest Monograph, 10*, iv-v.

Czula, R. (1975). Pierre de Coubertin and modern Olympism. *Quest Monograph, 24*, 10-18.

Davenport, J. (1979). Reaction to college athletics in the twenties: The golden age or fool's gold'. In L. W. Ladd and A. Lumpkin (Eds.). *Sport in American education: History and perspective* (pp. 111-116). Washington, D.C.: National Association for Sport and Physical Education.

Fields, C. M. (1983, March 9). Court rejects claim of women's group that NCAA violated antitrust law. *Chronicle of Higher Education*, pp. 17-20.

Gerber, E. (1975). The controlled development of collegiate sport for women 1923-1936. *Journal of Sport History, 2* (1), 1-28.

Gerber, E., Felshin, J., Berlin, P., & Wyrick, W. (1974). *The American woman in sport*. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley.

Glader, E. A. (1978). *Amateurism and athletics*. West Point: Leisure Press.

Henschen, K.P., & Fry, D. (1984). An archival study of the relationship of intercollegiate athletic participation and graduation. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 1* (1), 52-56.

Hill, L.E. (1903). *Athletics and out-door sports for women*. New York: Macmillan.

Howland, A. (1934). The new 1933-34 athletic handbook of the women's athletic section of the APEA. *Journal of Health and Physical Education, 5* (3), 55.

Kenney, K. (1982). The realm of sports and the athletic woman 1850-1900. In R. Howell (Ed.), *Her story in sport: A historical anthology of women in sports*. (pp. 107-140). West Point: Leisure Press.

Kramer, J. with Deford, F. (1979). *The game: My forty years in tennis*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Lee, M. (1931). The case for and against intercollegiate athletics for women and the situation since 1923. *Research Quarterly, 2*, 93-127.

Lewis, G. (1965). *The American intercollegiate football spectacle: 1869-1917*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Maryland.

Lewis, G. (1969). Adoption of the sports program, 1906-1936: The role of accommodation in the transformation of physical education. *Quest Monograph, 12*, 34-46.

Lucas, J.A., & Smith, R.A. (1982). In R. Howell (Ed.), *Her story in sport: A historical anthology of women in sports* (pp. 241-265). West Point: Leisure Press.

Mangan, J. A. (1981). *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian public school: The emergence and consolidation of an educational ideology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Menke, F. J. (1975). *Encyclopedia of sports* (5th rev. ed.). Brunswick: A. S. Barnes.

Moore, B. Y. (1941, December). The attitude of college women toward physical acivity as a means of recreation. *Research Quarterly, 12* (4), 720-725.

Moyer, L. J., Mitchem, J., & Bell, M. M. (1966). Women's attitudes toward physical education in the general education program at Northern Illinois University. *Research Quarterly, 37* (4), 515-519.

Needham, H. B. (1905, June). The college athlete: How commercialism is making him a professional. *McClure's Magazine, 25*, 115-128, 260-273.

Rooney, J. (1980). *The recruiting game: Toward a new system of intercollegiate sport.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Sack, A. (1974). Yale 29—Harvard 4. The professionalization of college football. *Quest, 19*, (winter), 24-34.

Savage, H. V. (1929). *American college athletics.* Carnegie Foundation Bulletin 23. New York: Carnegie Foundation.

Shaw, G. (1972). *Meat on the hoof: The hidden world of Texas football.* New York: St. Martin's Press.

Squires, M. (1982). Sport and the cult of 'true womanhood': A paradox at the turn of the century. In R. Howell (Ed.), *Her story in sport: A historical anthology of women in sports* (pp. 101-106). West Point: Leisure Press.

Tischler, S. (1981). *Footballers and businessmen: The origins of professional soccer in England.* New York: Holmes and Meier.

Twin, S. (Ed.). (1979). *Out of the bleachers: Writings on women and sport.* New York: Feminist Press.

Van Vleet, P. (1944). National section on women's athletics. *Journal of Health and Physical Education, 15* (9), p. 508.

VanderZwaag, H. J. (1976). Amateurism and the Olympic games. In P. Graham & H. Verberhorst (Eds.), *The modern olympics* (pp. 74-97). West Point: Leisure Press.

Waggoner, M. (1935). Individual differences in interests and efforts of college women as related to a program of physical education. *Research Quarterly, 6* (October supplement), 86-95.

Welch, P. (1982). Interscholastic basketball: Bane of collegiate physical educators. In R. Howell (Ed.), *Her story in sport: A historical anthology of women in sports* (pp. 424-431). New York: Leisure Press.

Weyand, A. (1961). *Saga of American Football.* New York: Macmillan.

White, C. (1954). Extramural competition and physical education activities for college women. *Research Quarterly, 25* (3), 344-363.

Wollett, M. D. (1948). Present status of women's physical education in California junior colleges. *Research Quarterly, 19* (3), 185-189.

THE EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT OF COLLEGE ATHLETES BY GENDER

Dean A. Purdy, D. Stanley Eitzen, & Rick Hufnagel*

The vast research literature on sport participation and academic performance for high school athletes supports only a slight positive relationship between sport and education (Braddock, 1980; Snyder & Spreitzer, 1978). However, there is little research, aside from institutional studies, concerning the relationship between collegiate sport participation and education attainment, and most of these studies deal only with a single dimension of educational attainment (American College Testing Program, 1981; Hanford, 1974; Hanks & Eckland, 1976; Harris, 1980; Harrison, 1976; Henschen & Fry, 1984; Litchfield & Cope, 1962; Moran, 1980; Pilapil, Stecklein & Lin, 1970; Purdy, Eitzen & Hufnagel, 1982; Roper & Snow, 1976; Sage, 1967; Shapiro, 1984; Stecklein & Dameron, 1965; Underwood, 1980; Webb, 1968). The research on college athletes lacks empirical studies that assess the general academic preparation and achievement level of collegiate student-athletes. The research is even more deficient concerning female athletic participation and academic achievement at either the high school or collegiate level (Hanks & Eckland, 1976; Landers, Feltz, Obermeier, & Brouse, 1978; Snyder & Spreitzer, 1977, 1978). This oversight is perplexing in view of Spady's (1970) research which indicated that participation in high school sport may lead to increased educational aspirations but does not necessarily enhance or develop those academic characteristics necessary for success in college.

The number of specific studies on male collegiate athletes is generally limited to a single variable or sport. One such variable, and possibly the most important, is the graduation rate. Several studies support the hypothesis that athletes stand a better chance of graduating than non-athletes (Henschen & Fry, 1984; Shapiro, 1984). One of these is a study by Jesick (c.f. Michener, 1976) of the 1963 University of Pittsburgh football team, which indicated that 93 percent of them had graduated, and 46 percent had re-

---

*Direct correspondence to: Dean A. Purdy, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio 43402.

An earlier draft of this paper was presented at the North Central Sociological Association meeting, Cleveland, April 23-25, 1981.

ceived graduate degrees. A study of Litchfield and Cope (1962), focusing only on advanced degrees for University of Pittsburgh athletes, revealed that 37 percent had received degrees beyond the Bachelor's level. Pilapil, Stecklein and Lin (1970) at the University of Minnesota demonstrated that fifty percent of the athletes from the class of 1967 had graduated as compared to forty-one percent of non-athletes. These rates, however, show a decline during the past several years. In addition, Michener (1976) has stated that institutional studies at Stanford and Notre Dame demonstrated graduation rates for athletes, 88 percent and 99 percent respectfully, as being considerably above that of the institutions' general student body. A study completed by the American College Testing Program (1981) of over 4,000 male athletes revealed that athletes graduate at a rate comparable to non-athletes. However, a contrary result was found by Purdy, Eitzen and Hufnagel (1982) in which athletes graduated at a rate approximately twelve percent less than non-athletes.

The second major indicator or focus for determining the progress and/or ability of student-athletes is the grade-point average (GPA). As was the case with graduation rates, the results concerning GPA are also mixed. A study by Stecklein and Dameron (1965) at the University of Minnesota revealed that there were no significant differences between the GPA's of athletes and non-athletes. Later a study at the same institution confirmed the previous finding noting that athletes had GPA's of 2.42 compared to 2.40 for non-athletes (Pilapil, Stecklein & Lin, 1970). However, Harrison (1976) revealed that football players at North Texas State University had attained a mean GPA of only 2.00. Furthermore, a large longitudinal study by Purdy, Eitzen and Hufnagel (1982) revealed that the GPA's of athletes were somewhat lower than those of non-athletes.

A major drawback to most of the previous studies of educational attainment and the college athlete is that they rarely report gender differences. Two major research projects conducted to study problems regarding educational attainment in intercollegiate sport failed to even address the area of female athletic participation (American College Testing Program, 1981; Hanford, 1974). Research findings on graduation rates of males and females are often contradictory, with some studies finding males graduating at higher rates and others showing higher graduation rates for females (Astin, 1972, 1975; Eckland, 1964; Eckland & Wisenbaker,

1979; Newton & Gaither, 1980; Pantages & Creedon, 1978; Summershill, 1962). Contrary to the findings of these studies, a recent study by the American Council on Education (1978) concluded that females are more likely than males to graduate from college. This is especially true when graduation occurs within a "normal" time frame of from four to six years from time of first enrollment (Astin, 1972). A study by Purdy, Eitzen & Hufnagel (1982) confirmed this finding that female athletes have higher graduation rates than male athletes.

With the educational and ethical problems of intercollegiate athletics continuing to expand, it is crucial for educators to assess whether athletes benefit from their exposure to the academic side of their college experience. This paper assesses this impact by comparing the academic records of male and female athletes for a 10-year period at one major state university. This study improves on previous research by including a comparison of male and female athletes. This comparison will permit an evaluation as to whether the educational problems that plague male intercollegiate student-athletes are also found among female athletes. Unlike previous studies, which have tended to use but one indicator of academic achievement, we will use several measures of this variable, as well as several measures of educational preparation for college.

METHODOLOGY

The sample consisted of all athletes who participated in a varsity sport (N=2088) at a NCAA Division I-A university. The data includes all entering freshman athletes during the decade from 1970 to 1979. This interval was selected since computerized educational data from the university's Admission and Records Department were available. In addition, the selection of this time interval provided a sufficient amount of time for analysis of existing graduation patterns, since a time frame of 4-5 years is deemed "normal" for completing the educational requirement at the university.

The term "athlete" was operationalized as an individual whose name appeared on the eligibility forms submitted by the institution to the conference office. This procedure effectively eliminated all "walk-on" athletes who failed to remain with the team for any substantial period of time. In all cases, the athlete had to have completed one academic term at the university to be

included in the sample.

The amount of grant-in-aid supplied by the institution was obtained from Athletic Department records and broken down into the percentage of financial aid extended to the athletes. The expected cost of an academic term was obtained from the University Bulletin for each year that the athlete was enrolled. This dollar amount was then divided into the amount of financial aid received by the athlete to obtain a percentage. The largest percentage of financial aid obtained by the athlete during their residence at the university was used in the analysis.

Educational records used in the analysis were obtained from official university records in the Department of Admissions and Records. Variables used in the analysis consisted of cumulative university grade-point average, high school class rank, high school grade point average, standardized entrance examination scores, and the number of years spent at the university to achieve graduation.

RESULTS

This study focuses on the comparison of male versus female athletes on four predictors of college performance and two measures of academic achievement. The measures of predictive achievement used were: (1) the Scholastic Aptitude Test combined score (SATCOMB); (2) the American College Test Composite score (ACTCOMP); (3) high school grade point average (HSGPA); and (4) high school class rank, in percentile (CLSTAND). Two measures of attained collegiate academic achievement were employed: (1) college grade point average (CGPA); and (2) graduation rate (GRADRATE).

Table 1 illustrates the mean scores on all six academic achievement variables for both males and females. The comparison of male and female athletes on the predictive indices of academic achievement revealed that female athletes scored significantly higher on the SATCOMB, HSGPA, and CLSTAND measures. Only on the ACTCOMP item did the female athletes fail to outperform their male counterparts, and in this instance, the mean scores were identical. Especially significant were the relatively large differences in the high school grade point average and class ranking. Female athletes performed better than male athletes by almost half a point on the grade point average and by

thirteen points in the percentile rankings of class standing. These data indicate that female athletes are significantly better students than male athletes, and thus more likely to succeed in college.

The two indices of collegiate academic performance fulfilled the prediction yielded by high school achievement. The female athletes scored significantly higher in both measures. Female athletes scored nearly a half point higher on the college grade point average and graduated at a higher rate than the male athletes in the sample. These results were consistent with other findings that show that female students generally score higher than males on measures of academic achievement (American Council on Education, 1978).

TABLE 1

MALE AND FEMALE COLLEGIATE ATHLETES' MEAN SCORES ON INDICATORS OF ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

Academic Achievement Indicator	Male $\bar{X}$	Male SD	Female $\bar{X}$	Female SD	t
Combined SAT Score (SATCOMB)	941	182	977	178	3.12**
	N = 1077		N = 312		
Composite ACT Score (ACTCOMP)	20.8	4.80	20.8	4.83	N.S.
	N = 290		N = 161		
High School GPA (HSGPA)	2.85	.532	3.21	.504	9.22**
	N = 455		N = 288		
Standardized Class Rank (CLSTAND)	66	.206	79	.173	11.16**
	N = 1181		N = 369		
College GPA (CPGA)	2.48	.616	2.88	.567	12.10**
	N = 1651		N = 424		
Graduation Rate (GRADRATE)	33%		41%		3.20*
	N = 1270		N = 189		

* $p \leq .05$
** $p \leq .001$
Note: N size varies due to missing data.

TABLE 2

MEAN SCORES OF MALE AND FEMALE COLLEGIATE ATHLETES ON INDICATORS OF ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT BY COLLEGE OF LAST DECLARED MAJOR

College of Last Declared Major	ACTCOMP		SATCOMB		HSGPA		CLSTAND		CGPA		GRADRATE	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Agriculture	21.5 (N = 17)	23.7 (6)	971 (54)	1021 (22)	2.92 (20)	3.12 (17)	67 (59)	78 (23)	2.50 (82)	2.76 (28)	40% (67)	50% (12)
	N.S.		N.S.		N.S.		t = 2.12*		t = 1.80*		N.S.	
Business	22.7 (38)	22.0 (14)	964 (208)	953 (23)	2.87 (75)	3.30 (20)	66 (218)	79 (25)	2.42 (307)	2.68 (29)	37% (245)	25% (16)
	N.S.		N.S.		t = 3.47***		t = 2.91**		t = 2.50**		N.S.	
Engineering	25.4 (27)	27.0 (1)	1071 (78)	1184 (8)	3.20 (40)	3.62 (9)	76 (85)	85 (9)	2.63 (97)	3.35 (10)	42% (62)	— (3)
	—		t = 2.00**		t = 2.52**		N.S.		t = 3.15***		N.S.	
Natural Resources	23.3 (19)	23.9 (9)	994 (90)	1027 (21)	2.99 (43)	3.31 (20)	68 (99)	83 (24)	2.51 (121)	2.80 (30)	35% (85)	60% (10)
	N.S.		N.S.		t = 2.43**		t = 3.63***		t = 2.45**		N.S.	
Home Economics	18.8 (5)	17.9 (27)	903 (11)	930 (38)	3.25 (2)	3.08 (41)	62 (13)	74 (50)	2.60 (16)	2.77 (54)	38% (13)	40% (25)
	N.S.		N.S.		N.S.		t = 1.79*		N.S.		N.S.	
Natural Sciences	21.1 (38)	24.4 (22)	995 (113)	1063 (49)	3.07 (53)	3.44 (42)	72 (128)	85 (56)	2.63 (180)	3.11 (61)	31% (131)	45% (31)
	t = 2.70**		t = 2.36**		t = 3.83***		t = 4.18***		t = 5.03***		N.S.	
Professional Studies	19.3 (57)	18.7 (42)	859 (169)	906 (77)	2.66 (91)	3.07 (64)	61 (188)	77 (93)	2.56 (259)	2.89 (105)	34% (177)	47% (51)
	N.S.		t = 2.04**		t = 4.93***		t = 6.41***		t = 5.22***		t = 1.74*	

Table 2 (cont'd.)

College of Last Declared Major	ACTCOMP		SATCOMB		HSGPA		CLSTAND		CGPA		GRADRATE	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Arts, Humanities & Soc. Sciences	18.9 (83)	20.4 (33)	892 (320)	943 (61)	2.70 (122)	3.12 (60)	62 (356)	77 (73)	2.36 (544)	2.83 (87)	28% (449)	38% (32)
	N.S.		t = 1.98*		t = 5.11***		t = 5.80***		t = 6.67***		N.S.	
Biological Sciences	21.1 (8)	24.9 (9)	1017 (34)	1128 (13)	2.90 (9)	3.57 (15)	74 (35)	91 (16)	2.73 (45)	2.94 (20)	29% (41)	22% (9)
	N.S.		t = 1.78*		t = 3.60***		t = 3.50***		N.S.		N.S.	

*$p \leq .05$ **$p \leq .01$ ***$p \leq .001$

TABLE 3

MEAN SCORES OF MALE AND FEMALE COLLEGIATE ATHLETES ON INDICATORS OF ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT BY SPORT

SPORT	ACTCOMP		SATCOMB		HSGPA		CLSTAND		CGPA		GRADRATE	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Baseball/ Softball	21.3 (N = 43)	20.6 (20)	963 (114)	932 (35)	2.89 (62)	3.22 (32)	68 (124)	82 (41)	2.52 (185)	2.73 (47)	42% (129)	45% (20)
	N.S.		N.S.		t = 3.71***		t = 4.43***		t = 2.13*		N.S.	
Basketball	19.2 (19)	19.3 (21)	864 (74)	936 (26)	2.60 (22)	3.12 (28)	64 (80)	77 (37)	2.38 (126)	2.85 (39)	37% (101)	57% (14)
	N.S.		t = 1.77*		t = 3.19***		t = 3.33***		t = 4.54***		N.S.	
Golf	22.7 (15)	20.8 (8)	1019 (47)	973 (14)	2.95 (20)	3.28 (13)	71 (54)	82 (17)	2.62 (69)	2.82 (21)	52% (54)	54% (13)
	N.S.		N.S.		t = 1.78*		t = 2.17*		N.S.		N.S.	
Gymnastics	20.6 (29)	19.8 (16)	953 (72)	961 (25)	2.96 (28)	3.26 (23)	72 (76)	80 (29)	2.73 (91)	2.84 (32)	35% (77)	27% (11)
	N.S.		N.S.		t = 2.08*		t = 2.14*		N.S.		N.S.	
Swimming	22.3 (27)	21.8 (20)	998 (93)	997 (45)	2.98 (45)	3.09 (41)	65 (99)	75 (54)	2.61 (137)	2.89 (56)	30% (103)	40% (25)
	N.S.		N.S.		N.S.		t = 3.13***		t = 3.28***		N.S.	
Tennis	23.2 (6)	21.4 (14)	1022 (31)	963 (32)	3.18 (17)	3.19 (21)	76 (33)	79 (33)	2.64 (49)	2.93 (40)	22% (36)	52% (23)
	N.S.		t = 1.92*		N.S.		N.S.		t = 2.06*		t = 2.45**	
Track and Field	21.8 (69)	21.0 (40)	955 (228)	999 (71)	2.93 (125)	3.30 (76)	68 (251)	81 (90)	2.57 (312)	2.96 (104)	36% (207)	29% (42)
	N.S.		t = 1.63*		t = 5.07***		t = 5.57***		t = 5.62***		N.S.	

*$p \leq .05$ **$p \leq .01$ ***$p \leq .001$

TABLE 4

MEAN SCORES OF MALE AND FEMALE COLLEGIATE ATHLETES ON INDICATORS OF ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT BY EXTENT OF GRANT-IN-AID

Extent of Grant-in-Aid	ACTCOMP		SATCOMB		HSGPA		CLSTAND		CGPA		GRADRATE	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
No Grant-in-Aid	21.9 (N = 158)	21.4 (137)	975 (445)	985 (277)	2.94 (237)	3.25 (325)	68 (498)	80 (322)	2.57 (631)	2.90 (3.74)	36% (453)	39% (169)
	N.S.		N.S.		t = 7.02***		t = 8.81***		t = 8.83***			
1% - 33%	20.8 (45)	18.3 (13)	957 (113)	904 (21)	2.91 (67)	3.00 (16)	69 (127)	73 (24)	2.68 (157)	2.88 (25)	40% (99)	77% (13)
	t = 1.75*		N.S.		N.S.		N.S.		t = 1.71*		t = 2.54**	
34% - 66%	18.9 (23)	20.0 (8)	944 (111)	910 (8)	2.86 (42)	3.07 (12)	65 (119)	71 (14)	2.53 (190)	2.69 (15)	38% (152)	50% (4)
	N.S.		N.S.		N.S.		N.S.		N.S.		N.S.	
67% - 99%	20.5 (6)	17.0 (3)	941 (47)	963 (6)	2.92 (6)	2.65 (8)	62 (45)	68 (9)	2.56 (78)	2.47 (10)	41% (73)	None (3)
	N.S.		N.S.		N.S.		N.S.		N.S.		N.S.	
100%[a]	18.8 (58)	20.8 (1)	892 (361)	927 (2)	2.59 (103)	3.03 (2)	62 (392)	81 (2)	2.30 (595)	2.98 (2)	26% (493)	None (2)

*$p \leq .05$
**$p \leq .01$
***$p \leq .001$

[a] Significance test not performed since the female N is minimal

The six academic achievement variables were cross-classified for each college division within the university system (see Table 2). A pattern, similar to the more general one previously found, was discovered with female athletes scoring higher on nearly all of the achievement variables. The only college in which male athletes out-performed their female counterparts to any significant degree was in the business college. In addition, the highest scores were found to occur in the colleges of engineering and biological sciences, with the lowest scores uncovered in the colleges of professional studies and arts, humanities, and social sciences. This result does not presume to represent causation but more likely, self-selection.

Table 3 is a comparison of the mean scores on all six academic achievement variables by the seven sports in which both males and females compete. Of the twenty instances in this table where the difference between males and females was significantly different, nineteen showed females to have higher educational achievement than males.

An interesting, and also unexpected finding was the rather large discrepancy between the graduation rates of male and female tennis players. Especially significant was the extremely small (22 percent) graduation rate of the male tennis athletes.

The final segment of the analysis concerns itself with the relationship of the six measures of academic achievement to the amount of financial aid extended to the athletes (see Table 4). Again, in five of the six cases where the differences between males and females is significantly different, females out-perform males in scholastic achievement. Until recently, female athletes received little in the way of financial support for participation in collegiate athletics; this accounts for the lack of sufficient numbers in the upper categories of grain-in-aid (Coakley & Pacey 1982). However, at the lower levels of financial support, female athletes had higher mean scores, in some cases quite significant, than the male athletes.

The most conspicuous result concerning the degree of grant-in-aid received was that, for male athletes, the lowest mean scores on all measures of educational attainment occurred where 100 percent of financial aid was extended. This casts doubt about the concept of "student-athlete." Since most of these "full-ride" athletes participated in the "revenue" sports at the university, one must wonder whether successful athletic teams or the education of

the student-athlete was the foremost consideration.

DISCUSSION

The results of this study have demonstrated that, regardless of the type of control variable applied (college, major sport, extent of financial aid), female athletes scored higher on both the predictive and actual measures of educational achievement, than their male counterparts. These results must be interpreted in light of similar results from scores of sample student populations (American Council of Education, 1978), which demonstrated that females generally score better than males on measures of academic achievement. In addition, these findings were consistent with those of Landers and his colleagues (1978) who found that female athletes scored better than male athletes on a predictive measure of academic achievement, and Hanks and Eckland (1976) who reported that sports participation had a smaller negative effect on female athletes than male athletes.

The relationship between athletic participation and academic performance in a collegiate context may be different than the relationship which exists at the interscholastic level (Berlage, 1983; Coakley, 1983; Eitzen & Sage, 1982; Snyder & Spreitzer, 1983). However, this has not been proven. Recently, however, many researchers have suggested that studies at the college level be undertaken in an attempt to evaluate whether sport aids or hinders the attainment of the professed goals of the educational system (Loy, McPherson & Kenyon, 1978; Purdy, Litwin & Baker, 1982, 1983a, 1983b; Snyder, forthcoming). Since the existing evidence is rather sketchy, especially for females, if we do assume the existence of a positive relationship between sport and education at the collegiate level, then an explanation of the process dynamics is urgently needed (Loy, McPherson & Kenyon, 1978; Purdy, Litwin & Baker, 1982, 1983a, 1983b; Snyder forthcoming).

Our study shows the significant difference between male and female athletes in academic preparation and achievement at one university over a recent 10-year period. Since this was a time of gradual change in women's sports, the findings are likely not predictive of the future. Currently, women's sports programs at many schools are following the male model toward commercialism and a win-at-all-cost philosophy (Coakley & Pacey, 1982; Hannon, 1978; Nyquist, 1979; Sage, 1979). To the degree that this occurs,

the academic advantages that female athletes have over their male counterparts will narrow, and the stereotype of the student-athlete as an inferior student will fit both sexes.

REFERENCES

American College Testing Program. (1981). *National Collegiate Athletic Association survey of graduation rates after five years for males first entering college in fall 1975.* Institutional Services Department, Research and Development Division. Iowa City, IA.: American College Testing Program.

American Council on Education. (1978). *American Council on Education annual report, 1977.* Washington: American Council on Education.

Astin, A.W. (1972). *College dropouts: A national profile.* Washington, D.C.: American Council on Higher Education.

Astin, A. (1975). *Preventing students from dropping out.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Berlage, G.I. (1983, October). *Differences in male and female college athletes' commitment to sports and its implications.* Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the North American Society for the Sociology of Sport, St. Louis, MO.

Braddock, J.H., II. (1980). Race, sports, and social mobility: A critical review. *Sociological Symposium, 30* (Spring), 18-38.

Coakley, J.J. (1983). *Sport in society: Issues and controversies.* St. Louis: C.V. Mosby.

Coakley, J., & Pacey, P.L. (1982, November). *The distribution of athletic scholarships among women in intercollegiate sport.* Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the North American Society for the Sociology of Sport, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Eckland, B.K. (1964). College dropouts who come back. *Harvard Educational Review, 34,* 402-420.

Eckland, B.K., & Wisenbaker, J.M. (1979). *National longitudinal study: A capsule description of young adults four and one-half years after high school.* National Center for Education Statistics, Special Report Series. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Eitzen, D.S., & Sage, G.H. (1982). *Sociology of American sport.* Dubuque, IA: William C. Brown.

Hanford, G.H. (1974). *The need for and feasibility of a national study of intercollegiate athletics.* Washington, D.C.: American Council of Education.

Hanks, M.P., & Eckland, B.K. (1976). Athletics and social participation in the educational attainment process. *Sociology of Education, 49* (October), 272-294.

Hannon, K. (1978, March). Too far, too fast. *Sports Illustrated,* pp. 34-35.

Harris, J.C. (1980, April). *Academic ability and reported adequacy of high school preparation for college of male college freshmen athletes and non-athletes from four states.* Paper presented at the AAHPER National Convention, Detroit, Michigan.

Harrison, J.H. (1976). *Intercollegiate football participation and academic achievement.* Paper presented at the Southwestern Sociological Association meeting, Dallas, Texas.

Henschen, K.P., & Fry, D. (1984). An archival study of the relationship of intercollegiate athletic participation and graduation. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 1* (1), 52-56.

Landers, D.M., Feltz, D.L., Obermeier, G.E., & Brouse, T.R. (1978). Socialization via interscholastic athletics: Its affects on educational attainment. *Research Quarterly, 49* (4), 475-483.

Litchfield, E., & Cope, M. (1962, October). Saturday's hero is doing fine. *Sports Illustrated*. pp. 66-80.

Loy, J.W., McPherson, B.D., & Kenyon, G. (1978). *Sport and social systems*. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley.

Michener, J.A. (1976). *Sports in America*. New York: Random House.

Moran, M. (1980, October 16). Former U.S.C. President defends policies. *New York Times*, p. B5.

Newton, L.L., & Gaither, G.H. (1980). Factors contributing to attrition: An analysis of program impact on persistence patterns. *College and University, 55* (3), 237-251.

Nyquist, E.B. (1979). Win, women, and money: Collegiate athletics today and tomorrow. *Education Record, 60* (Fall), 374-393.

Pantages, T.J., & Creedon, C.F. (1978). Studies of college attrition, 1970-1975. *Review of Educational Research, 48* (1), 49-101.

Pilapil, B., Stecklein, J., & Lin, H. (1970). *Intercollegiate athletics and academic progress: A comparison of academic characteristics of athletes and non-athletes at the University of Minnesota*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.

Purdy, D.A., Eitzen, D.S., & Hufnagel, R. (1982). Are athletes also students? The educational attainment of college athletes. *Social Problems, 29* (4), 439-448.

Purdy, D.A., Litwin, J., & Baker, B. (1982, May). *College athletes: Great expectations in a world unto themselves*. Paper presented at the North Central Sociological Association Meetings, Detroit, MI.

Purdy, D.A., Litwin, J., & Baker, B. (1983a April). *The world of the student athlete: Continuity or change?* Paper presented at the Midwest Sociological Society Meetings, Kansas City, MO., April 13-16.

Purdy, D.A., Litwin, J., & Baker, B. (1983b October). *Transition into college sports: The freshman experience*. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the North American Society for the Sociology of Sport, St. Louis, MO.

Roper, L.D., & Snow, K. (1976). Correlation studies of academic excellence and big-time athletics. *International Review of Sport Sociology, 11*, 57-68.

Sage, G.H. (1967). *The academic performances of former high school athletes at college*. Unpublished paper, University of Northern Colorado.

Sage, G.H. (1979). Women in sport: Cooptation or liberation? In D. Stanley Eitzen (Ed.), *Sport in contemporary America* (pp. 432-436), New York: St Martin's Press.

Shapiro, B. (1984). Intercollegiate athletic participation and academic achievement: A case study of Michigan State University student-athletes 1950-1980. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 1* (1), 46-51.

Snyder, E.E. (forthcoming). A theoretical analysis of academic and athletic roles. *Sociology of Sport Journal*.

Snyder, E.E., & Spreitzer, E. (1977). Participation in sports as related to educational expectations among high school girls. *Sociology of Education, 50*. 47-55.

Snyder, E.E., & Spreitzer, E. (1978). *Social aspects of sport*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Snyder, E.E., & Spreitzer, E. (1983). *Social aspects of sport*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Spady, W.G. (1970). Lament for the letterman: Effects of peer status and extracurricular activities on goals and achievement. *American Journal of Sociology, 75*, 680-702.

Stecklein, J.E., & Dameron, L.D. (1965). *Intercollegiate athletics and academic progress:*

A comparison of academic characteristics of athletes and non-athletes at the University of Minnesota. Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.

Summershill, Jr. (1962). Dropouts from college. In N. Sanford (Ed.), *The American college* (pp. 627-658). New York: Wiley.

Underwood, J. (1980, May 19). The writing is on the wall. *Sports Illustrated*, pp. 36-71.

Webb, H. (1968). *Social backgrounds of college athletes.* Paper presented at the AAHPER National Convention, St. Louis, Missouri.

CLOSING OR WIDENING THE GENDER GAP? BOYS' AND GIRLS' INTERSCHOLASTIC SPORTS IN MISSISSIPPI

David H. Demo*

Over the past 15 years researchers in the growing subfield of sociology of sport have focused considerable attention on the social consequences of interscholastic athletic participation. A number of attitudinal and behavioral consequences have been examined, including college expectations and aspirations (Picou, 1978; Rehberg & Shafer, 1968; Shafer & Rehberg, 1970; Spreitzer & Pugh, 1973), actual educational attainment (Hanks, 1979, Hanks & Eckland, 1976; Otto & Alwin, 1977), and subsequent earnings (Howell, Miracle & Rees, 1984; Howell & Picou, 1983; Otto & Alwin, 1977). Unfortunately, most of these studies rely on samples of males, usually white males, so that the generalizability of the findings to other race/sex subgroups is questionable.[1] Specifically, since the accumulated evidence appears to suggest that participation in interscholastic athletics has certain socioeconomic advantages, we need to examine the social structural barriers that inhibit different groups from participation in sport and thus block those groups from enjoying the socioeconomic rewards associated with athletic involvement. The purpose of this paper is to describe the interscholastic athletic programs that are available to male and female high school students in Mississippi and to discuss the implications in terms of recent legislation and social change.

---

*Direct correspondence to: Department of Sociology/Anthropology, Mississippi State University, Mississippi State, Mississippi 39762.

I am grateful to David C. Boles who stimulated this study and assisted in the research design. Wolfgang Frese and Victoria A. Rhea were also very helpful in data collection and preparation. This research was funded in part by the Athletic Department of Mississippi State University.

This Paper was presented at the Annual Meeting of the Mid-South Sociological Association, October 24-27, 1984, Monroe, Louisiana.

[1] Beezley and Hobbs (1984, p. 363) assert that "for both scholars and journalists, the term 'athlete' continues to mean male." They report the results of an unpublished study indicating that women are generally neglected in the field of sport history. Our review of the sociological literature is also discouraging. We were able to find only a few studies that examine the relationship between female athletic participation and educational expectations (Snyder & Spreitzer, 1977) or attainment (Hanks, 1979; Hanks & Eckland, 1976).

STUDYING SOCIAL STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS

In an article assessing recent theory and research on sport participation, Theberge (1984) asserts that investigators seem to be preoccupied with describing the social and demographic characteristics of sport participants, that is, the sex, race, ethnicity, and social class of athletes, coaches and sport executives. She points out that this "voluntaristic" approach has clear limitations: " . . . by selectively emphasizing individual and in particular psychological and social psychological characteristics, researchers have greatly underemphasized the social, structural, and political factors affecting participation" (1984, p. 27). Hall (1981) strikes a similar note, arguing that researchers have analyzed the restrictions that traditional sex roles impose on a female participation in sport, but have neglected "the historic, economic and political questions of differential power and equality between men and women" (1981, p. 17). Further, as sex roles change and as women become more interested and more active in sport, the social structural forces that restrict their involvement will be increasingly important to understand.

One position scholars and educators have taken is that some of the longstanding and prominent social structural barriers are gradually being removed. Most important in this regard is that, in 1972, Congress passed Title IX of the Educational Amendments Act, which stipulates that:

> "No person shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, be treated differently from another person or otherwise be discriminated against in any interscholastic, intercollegiate, club or intramural athletics offered by a recipient, and no recipient shall provide any such athletics separately on such basis."[2]

Largely as a result of this legislation, the number of females participating in organized sport has increased steadily and substantially over the past decade. Fields (1984) reports that before the enactment of Title IX women comprised 15 percent of intercollegiate athletes, but by 1980 they constituted 30 percent. The principal change during this eight-year interval was that athletic

[2] Federal Register 40, part II, June 5, 1975, (Washington, D.C.: Department of Health, Education, and Welfare), p. 24142.

departments were forced to increase their funding of women's programs, thereby creating more opportunities for individuals who wanted to participate. Fields (1984) indicates that between academic years 1973-74 and 1981-82, major universities in the National Collegiate Athletic Association (N.C.A.A.) increased their spending on women's programs from an average of $27,000 per school to $400,000—a 1500 percent increase.

Uhlir (1984) reports similar expansion in female athletic involvement at the high school level. From 1970-71 to 1980-81, the number of sports available to high school girls more than doubled (from 14 to 30), and the number of participants jumped from less than 270,000 to just under 9 million—a 3300 percent increase.

But another position is that Title IX is difficult and confusing to interpret, that its implementation has been gradual, and its enforcement has been spotty. Considerably more money continues to be spent on male athletic programs—from Little League to high school and college teams—and substantially more coverage is given to male sports in newspapers and magazines and on television. So how much change is actually occurring, and where are the lines being drawn?

Eitzen and Sage (1982) cite a number of studies that consistently find individual sports to be more "acceptable" than team sports for females. Females are encouraged to develop interests in sports that are aesthetically pleasing and do not involve physical contact, e.g., figure skating as opposed to ice hockey, gymnastics instead of wrestling, and swimming and diving instead of football or rugby. One question we will address in the current study is whether such structural differences in high school athletic programs still exist more than 10 years after passage of Title IX. Uhlir (1984), points out that "much of the litigation for sports equity in the early 1970s was brought by individual female athletes who sought the opportunity to play noncontact sports on previously all-male teams" (p. 380). Is the principal distinction still individual versus team sports? Or is the line being drawn between contact and noncontact sports? And what sports would high school boys and girls be *interested in* playing if no restrictions were imposed on them?

METHOD

A telephone survey was conducted of all private and public

high schools in the State of Mississippi. The survey was conducted in Summer, 1984, and a 100 percent response rate was achieved by interviewing an official from all 366 high schools in the state. Nearly two-thirds (65 percent) of the interviews were conducted with principals of the respective institutions, and the remaining cases involved interviews with athletic directors, assistant principals, or coaches. In only four per cent of the cases were we unable to contact one of these school officials, and in these rare cases a counselor or secretary provided the necessary information.

Respondents were asked to identify the sports programs their school offered for boys and for girls at the varsity (interscholastic) and intramural levels. Then they were asked to identify the programs that they do *not* offer that generate the most interest, and finally, whether the school has serious plans to implement additional programs for boys and girls.

FINDINGS

Interscholastic Sports

A total of 1,596 interscholastic teams were reported for boys, resulting in an average of 4.36 teams per school. In contrast, 989 girls' varsity teams were reported, producing an average of only 2.70 per school. The overwhelming majority of schools have varsity teams for the three traditional American men's sports: basketball (98 percent), football (90 percent), and baseball (84 percent). Varsity track teams for males are also common (78 percent), with tennis (39 percent), golf (26 percent), cross country (10 percent), and soccer (9 percent) rounding out the main offerings.

Among girls' interscholastic sports, basketball (98 percent), track (74 percent), tennis (37 percent), and cross country (7 percent) are the only sports that are available equally (or "acceptable") for the two sexes. One-third of the schools have varsity softball teams (widely regarded as the safer, "feminine" version of baseball), and less than eight percent have varsity volleyball teams for girls. When coed teams are included, only nine percent of the schools have golf teams, and three percent have soccer teams for girls. So even in the "acceptable" sports, girls' offerings at most high schools are quite limited compared to those for boys.

Intramural Sports

Thirty percent of the schools have club or intramural basketball for boys, nearly one-fourth of the schools (23 percent) have softball or baseball at this level, a slightly smaller number (22 percent) have intramural volleyball, and 10 percent have some type of intramural football, usually flag or touch football. A total of 391 boys' intramural programs exist across the state, an average of slightly more than one sport per school.

Girls' offerings at the club or intramural level are comparable to those for boys both in terms of total numbers (368 programs, an average of 1.00 per school) and in terms of the specific sports that are available. Thirty percent of the schools have an intramural basketball program for girls, one-fourth have softball, and a similar number (24 percent) have volleyball. Beyond these three sports, however, girls' intramural programs are virtually non-existent. No more than four percent of the schools in the state have intramural tennis, soccer, track, flag or touch football for girls (termed "powder puff" football at one school).

Sports That Created Student Interest Which Institutions Did Not Offer

When asked to identify the boys' sports programs that they do *not* currently offer that generate the most interest, soccer and tennis (15.3 and 12.9 percent, respectively) headed the list, followed by golf, baseball, football, and track, in that order. The currently unavailable girls' programs that generate the most interest are softball and tennis (28.2 and 13.2 percent, respectively), followed by swimming, volleyball, and track.

A somewhat surprising finding, given the difficult economic situations confronting educational institutions today, is that more than one-fourth of the schools report serious plans to expand their athletic programs beyond what is currently offered. Interestingly, 55 percent of the planned additions will involve programs for *girls*.

DISCUSSION

We have documented that, at least in the State of Mississippi, boys' high school athletic opportunities are greater than those for girls, but the actual numerical differences are not as compelling as one might have anticipated, particularly at the intramural level. The statewide figures indicate that intramural of-

ferings are nearly identical for boys and girls. It may be the case that more boys participate in these programs than girls, perhaps because of greater social structural support, parental encouragement, peer influence, and the like, but at least the options are open and the facilities and resources are being provided on a somewhat equal basis. It is also possible that, in more affluent states with greater resources, boys may benefit more unevenly.

A noticeable disparity exists at the interscholastic level, however, where more than half again as many teams are fielded by boys compared to girls. Further, a conservative estimate is that twice as many boys participate in interscholastic athletics. Most high schools have a football team which involves 50 or more male players and is diligently and passionately supported by cheerleaders, the student body, and townspeople, but which has no "female" counterpart. The vast majority of schools have a varsity boys' baseball team, but less than one-third have varsity girls' softball. Even "gentle," noncontact, individual sports such as golf are not supported for girls to the degree that they are for boys. Clearly there are fewer interscholastic athletic opportunities for girls, whether contact or noncontact, individual or team sports. Females therefore have fewer chances to gain whatever benefits that accrue as a result of participation in high school sports. In attempting to explain how such athletic involvement increases educational aspirations and attainments among men, Otto and Alwin (1977) suggest that:

> First, participation in athletics may teach interpersonal skills that are readily transferable and marketable outside of athletics. Second, athletics may serve an allocation function by raising the visibility of participants and providing them with an early success definition or label. Third, athletics may introduce participants to interpersonal networks, contacts, and information channels that are beneficial in establishing careers. (p.112)

Whether or not these processes and benefits generalize to women has not been determined and will be an important area for further investigation, but it is reasonable to conclude that discrimination (overt or covert) against females within the institution of sport has serious implications and consequences for women in other institutional settings, most notably in educational and occupational attainment. It must be recognized that athletic opportu-

nities for girls and women have increased substantially over the past decade, largely due to passage and enforcement of Title IX, but female interest in sport continues to grow, demanding that further and more equitable opportunities be provided. Probably one indication of impending social change is that more than one-half of the schools in our study are planning to expand their programs for girls. It may be that once powerful social norms, sex roles, and social structural barriers are gradually changing to permit greater female participation in sport.

REFERENCES

Beezley, W.H., & Hobbs, J.P. (1984). Nice girls don't sweat: Women in American sport. In D.S. Eitzen (Ed.), *Sport in Contemporary Society* (2nd ed., pp. 353-367). New York: St. Martin's.

Eitzen, D.S., & Sage, G.H. (1982). *Sociology of American sport* (2nd ed). Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown.

Fields, C.M. (1984). Title IX at X. In D.S. Eitzen (Ed.), *Sport in contemporary society* (2nd ed., pp. 368-373).

Hall, M.A. (1981). *Sport, sex roles, and sex identity.* (The CRIAW Papers, No. 81-01). Ottawa: The Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women.

Hanks, M. (1979). Race, sexual status, and athletics in the process of educational achievement. *Social Science Quarterly, 60*, 482-496.

Hanks, M.P., & Eckland, B.K. (1976). Athletics and social participation in the educational attainment process. *Sociology of Education, 49*, 271-294.

Howell, F.M., Miracle, A.W., & Rees, C.R. (1984). Do high school athletics pay?: The effects of varsity participation on socioeconomic attainment. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 1*, 15-25.

Howell, F.M., & Picou, J.S. (1983). *Athletics and income achievements.* Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Southwestern Social Science Association, Houston, March.

Otto, L.B., & Alwin, D.F. (1977). Athletics, aspirations, and attainments. *Sociology of Education, 42*, 102-113.

Picou, J.S. (1978). Race, athletic achievement, and educational aspiration. *The Sociological Quarterly, 19*, 429-438.

Rehberg, R.A., & Shafer, W.E., (1968). Participation in interscholastic athletics and college expectations. *American Journal of Sociology, 73*, 732-740.

Shafer, W.E., & Rehberg, R.A. (1970). Athletic participation, college aspirations and college encouragement. *Pacific Sociological Review, 13*, 182-186.

Snyder, E.E., & Spreitzer, E. (1977). Participation in sports as related to educational expectations among high school girls. *Sociology of Education, 50*, 47-55.

Spreitzer, E., & Pugh, M. (1973). Interscholastic athletics and educational expectations. *Sociology of Education, 46*, 171-182.

Theberge, N. (1984). On the need for a more adequate theory of sport participation. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 1*, 26-35.

Uhlir, A. (1984). The wolf is our shepherd: Shall we not fear? In D.S. Eitzen (Ed.), *Sport in contemporary society* (2nd ed., pp. 374-384). New York: St. Martin's.

SPORT AND FEMINISM IN NORTH AMERICA

Nancy Theberge*

Current interest in women and sport is one manifestation of the influence of the contemporary women's movement. As concern with sex inequality, changing social roles, and the relations between the sexes became renewed subjects of debate and analysis in recent years, it was inevitable—and appropriate—that this discussion be extended to sport, one of the most male-dominated institutions in our society. Accordingly, we have seen over the past decade both a developing feminist sport scholarship and interest among women involved in sport in organizing and working to improve their condition.

While this infusion of feminist consciousness into the world of sport has been welcome, I would argue that the connections between sport and feminism have been explored only partially. Feminist sport scholars, particularly sport sociologists, have identified and analyzed women's issues in sport and brought a needed feminist perspective to the study of sport. While the need for such efforts has not diminished, a complementary concern that has received less attention is the manner in which a feminist analysis of sport can contribute to the development of feminist theory and practice.

This paper examines the relationship between sport and feminism in North America. The discussion is divided into two parts. In the first part I review the rise of feminist consciousness and activism in sport and discuss three issues that have emerged in the feminist critique of sport. In the second part of the paper, I explore some of the linkages between sport as a gendered social practice and social relations beyond the world of sport. My purpose in the paper is twofold: to provide a brief account of the emergence of feminism in sport and to extend current understandings of the relationship between sport and the broader feminist struggle.

The analysis presented here considers the relationship between sport and feminism in Canada and the United States. There

* Direct correspondence to: Department of Kinesiology, University of Waterloo, Ontario, Canada NZL 3G1.

are, to be sure, major differences between the countries in both the organization of sport and in the legal and political influences upon the status of women. At the same time, there are important similarities in both the situation of women in sport and the relationship between feminism and sport. As well, the questions of feminist theory and practice that are at the base of women's struggles in both countries are largely the same. These similarities enable a joint consideration of the Canadian and American experiences and provide the benefits of a broader scope of analysis than would be afforded by a consideration of only one of the countries.

FEMINISM IN SPORT

Although there has been nothing like a feminist revolution in sport to date, there are clear indications of a growing appreciation of gender issues in sport. One important indication has been several conferences and workshops held in recent years. In Canada, national conferences on women and sport were held in 1974, 1980, and 1981. The last of these conferences saw the founding of the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women and Sport (CAAW+S), an organization that now holds annual national meetings and is engaged in research, education and advocacy. Another significant meeting of an academic nature was the 1983 workshop on "Gender, Leisure and Cultural Production," organized by the Sport and Leisure Studies Group at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario.

In the United States, recent events have included the 1982 workshop on "Feminism and Sport" sponsored by the Department of Physical Education and Dance at the University of Iowa. This meeting, notable as the first conference that has joined the words feminism and sport in its title, was concerned with linking feminist theory and practice in sport. By far the largest meeting to date in North America concerned with women and sport was the 1983 New Agenda Conference in Washington, D. C. Sponsored by the Women's Sport Foundation and the United States Olympic Committee, this gathering brought together sportswomen, researchers, and public figures (mainly politicians and journalists) from outside the world of sport.

The organization of conferences and workshops has been one important aspect of the growth of the feminist movement in North America. As the 1966 founding meeting of the National Organi-

zation for Women and the 1977 First National Women's Conference in Houston served to signify, solidify, and stimulate feminist consciousness and action, the several meetings mentioned above have furthered the cause of women in sport. In some cases, these meetings have produced activist outcomes. For example, the 1981 meeting saw the founding of CAAW+S, and the 1983 New Agenda Conference passed a series of resolutions for action. In other cases, such as the workshops at the University of Iowa and Queen's University, the outcomes have been more scholarly. Collectively, these meetings indicate the widespread acknowledgement of the "problem" of women and sport and of the need for analysis and action on this issue.

A second component of the developing feminist consciousness in sport is the growing body of literature on the topic. The first major scholarly piece on women and sport was Eleanor Metheny's (1965) "Symbolic Forms of Movement: The Feminine Image in Sport," which contained her now famous classification of sports that are acceptable for women's participation. Another significant publication was Gerber, Berlin, Felshin, and Wyrick's *The American Woman in Sport*, published in 1974. Since the publication of this volume, there has been an explosion of literature concerned with women and sport. A recent search of the SIRLS information retrieval system in the sociology of sport and leisure identified 773 entries concerned with the topic published since 1974.[1] The most recent significant additions to the literature are Boutilier and San Giovanni's (1980) *The Sporting Woman*, the May, 1983, issue of *Canadian Woman Studies* on women and sport, and the July, 1984, issue of *The Arena Review*, which was devoted to "The Politics of Women's Sport" and contained several of the papers presented at the 1982 University of Iowa workshop.

The conferences which have been held and the growing scholarship on women and sport are the main activities in the social production of feminist sport scholarship. Although the feminist analysis of sport is still developing and maturing, it is possible at this point to identify some of the major issues addressed in the literature. I review three of these below.

One very clear and powerful outcome of recent research and activism has been the ample documentation of sexism in sport.

---

[1] These references include books, monographs, and published articles, as well as unpublished papers. SIRLS is located in the Faculty of Human Kinetics and Leisure Studies, University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, N2L 3G1.

This, of course, involves the demonstration of sex differences in rates of involvement, but more fundamentally, it is concerned with analysis of the social and cultural influences that discourage and restrict women's sport participation. Relevant literature here includes the extensive research on women's sport socialization (see Greendorfer, 1975; 1983) and critiques of sport as a cultural representation of masculine ethos and values (Sabo & Runfola, 1980). A good overview of the literature on the status of women in sport is contained in Boutilier and San Giovanni's (1980) *The Sporting Woman.*

Demonstrating the pervasive sexism in sport is a critical first step in understanding the sportswoman's experience and the connections between feminism and sport. It is also the starting point for the exploration of additional issues. The second topic in the literature that I wish to discuss, which follows directly from the documentation of sexism in sport, is the question "What is to be done?"

Consideration of what kinds of changes should occur in sport on behalf of women centers around critics calling for a feminist alternative to male-dominated sport, which is excessively violent, bureaucratic, and commercialized, and where the pleasures of participating are often overshadowed by the pressures of winning. These critics support efforts to increase women's participation (unlike some feminists who dismiss sport as irrelevant to feminism). At the same time, they seek to change sport, or at least women's sport, so that it is rid of these ills.

These demands present fundamental challenges to the structure and value system of North American sport. Although they no doubt are desirable in principle to many, effecting these principles has proven difficult. The dilemma facing those who seek greater participation for women in sport is whether to seek equality in the current sport structure, or to seek a different model and structure for women's sport. If the latter path is chosen, then the difficulties of gathering resources, mounting and supporting an alternative sport system, in addition to challenging the dominant ideology of North American sport, become powerful obstacles to realizing the desired change.

Closely related to the question of what kinds of changes should occur is the issue of how women's sports should be organized in order best to meet the interests of women. This is the third of the issues in the feminist analysis of sport that I examine. The

debate is concerned with whether women's sport should be integrated with men's or organized and operated separately.

In the last decade there has been a movement in Canadian and American sport away from segregation of men's and women's university athletics in separate departments to integration in a single department. An associated change has been the replacement of separate men's and women's university athletic associations with a single association. In Canada this occurred through the amalgamation of men's and women's association in 1978; in the United States it was accomplished more forcefully in 1981 when the NCAA decided to offer national championships for women and, in effect, took control of women's athletics from the Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (Grant, 1984).

One result of the integration of men's and women's university athletics is clear: In both Canada and the United States, the percentage of women in leadership positions has declined (Grant, 1984; Holmen & Parkhouse, 1982; Vickers, et al;. 1982). The proportion of women athletic directors, coaches, and administrators of women's national sport associations is now smaller than before integration. In effect, the control of women's university sport has passed from women to men.

Loss of control over women's athletics has meant more than a loss of employment possibilities. Proponents of separate men's and women's programs see separation as the only safeguard against the dominance of women's sport not only by men but by the male model of sport discussed above (see Birrell, 1984). Perhaps the clearest evidence that their fears are justified is the experience in women's collegiate sport in the United States. Since its takeover by the NCAA, women's athletics at the highest level of competition (i.e., Division I) is increasingly resembling men's. It is becoming more commercialized (the quest for broadcasting revenue), bureaucratic (expanding coaching and support staffs), and the welfare of *student* athletes is being threatened by the time and energy demands exacted by their sport involvement.

There is, of course, no guarantee that athletic programs controlled by women would remain free of the abuses which plague men's sport. Indeed, in view of the dominance of commercialized spectator sport in North America, resistance to the evils of this model would be difficult. But, once women's sport came under the control of the NCAA, where no woman holds a position of jurisdiction over the course of women's sport (Birrell, 1984, p. 28),

what little chance there was of resisting the male model of sport likely vanished.

In this brief review of three feminist issues in sport, I have attempted to illustrate the manner in which a feminist perspective has enhanced our understanding of North American sport. While this discussion has by no means been a thorough review of the feminist critique of sport, it may suffice as an introduction to some of the major concerns. In the next section I turn to a consideration of the linkages between feminism in sport and the feminist movement in North America.

THE RELEVANCE OF SPORT TO THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT

Despite the growing feminist consciousness in sport, there has been little recognition of sport in the feminist movement among either scholars or activists. Evidence of the inattention among scholars is provided by the infrequent appearance of analyses of sport, physical activity, or physical education from most literature on gender and feminist studies. For example, since it began publication in 1975, the feminist journal *Signs* has contained one article on the status of women in physical education and no additional material on sport or related topics. Two other feminist journals, the *International Journal of Women's Studies* and *Feminist Studies*, have published *no* articles related to sport since their inaugural issues in respectively, 1978 and 1973.[2] A selective review of some of the most prominent books in the area of women's studies uncovered the same tendency. For example, Jessie Bernard's (1981) extensive volume, *The Female World*, has no indexed references to sport, physical activity, or physical education.

Among feminist activists there has been a similar tendency to downplay the relevance of sport to the women's movement. The clearest evidence of this is that the political agendas of women's organizations rarely are concerned with sport and physical activity. In this regard, there have been two important exceptions, one each in the United States and Canada. The American example concerns the involvement of feminist groups in arguments presented before the U.S. Supreme Court in the 1984 Grove City College case. The case concerned a reinterpretation of the applica-

[2] The *International Journal of Women's Studies* did, however, publish an abstract of an article concerned with sport that had previously been published in another Journal.

tion of Title IX regulations that would have drastically narrowed their scope. Although Title IX of the Educational Amendments Act of 1972 is not specifically directed at school sport and physical education programs, the main impact of this anti-sex discrimination legislation has been upon these programs. Thus, the case was of particular concern to feminists in sport, and the support they received from other feminists is an encouraging sign of the integration of sport into the women's movement.

The Canadian example involves a recent case of sex discrimination brought before the Canadian Human Rights Commission by the leading national feminist organization, the National Action Committee on the Status of Women. The case involved the exclusion of a female participant from an international soccer tournament held in Canada and sanctioned by the Canadian Soccer Association. As in the Grove City case in the United States, the involvement of a national women's organization in an issue concerning sport is an encouraging sign of recognition of the relevance of sport to feminism.[3]

As stated earlier, the Grove City and Canadian Soccer Association cases are notable exceptions to the historical inattention to sport by feminists. This inattention is the product of several factors. Because of the history of sexism in sport, many women have had little opportunity to experience the pleasures and benefits of physical activity. Rather, their involvement has been limited to dreary physical education classes they attended as students. The fact that sport has not been personally rewarding for many women no doubt contributes to their lack of interest in sport as a feminist issue.

---

[3] The disposition of these changes was not so encouraging for feminists. In the Grove City College case, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in favor of the restricted interpretation of Title IX regulations. In the Canadian Soccer Association case, the Canadian Human Rights Commission declined to issue a ruling and indicated that the complaint should be lodged in the province where the head offices of the Canadian Soccer Association are located. These offices are in Ottawa, Ontario. Under recent amendments to the Ontario Human Rights Code, sport is specifically exempt from the regulations that prohibit sex discrimination (see Kidd, 1983). While both these rulings were disappointing to feminists, there is hope. Several members of the United States Congress have indicated their intention to support legislation that returns the original scope to Title IX. There is political opposition to such legislation, however, and its passage is by no means assured. Hope in the Canadian case stems from recent changes to the Canadian Constitution. These changes include a revised Bill of Rights with provisions pertaining to sex discrimination that will come into effect in 1985. While the effect of these constitutional changes upon sex discrimination in sport will only become clear when test cases are tried, most observers feel that the Bill of Rights will afford women greater protection against discrimination in sport than they have enjoyed until now, especially in Ontario.

Additionally, for many women the social reality of sport justifies their disinterest or disdain. Many women (and men) see contemporary sport as corrupt and exploitative. Lacking any personal experience with alternate models of sport, they have little interest in changing the institution.

These comments suggest that feminist disinterest in sport is partially attributable to the fact that as North American sport is and has been organized, it has offered little to women. While this critique of sport as anti-feminist is correct, it is not a justification for feminist dismissal of sport. Alternatively, the anti-feminism of sport may be viewed as a rationale for reform, so that sport becomes liberating and uplifting rather than corrupt and exploitative.

An additional and more compelling reason for feminist disinterest in sport is that, next to the host of social, political, and economic issues that face women, sport pales in importance. Concerns such as economic equality and reproductive rights have a much more immediate and powerful impact upon the quality of women's lives. Thus, while sport is a legitimate area of interest, it must assume a lower priority than some other issues in the feminist political agenda.

There is, however, a danger in separating and assigning a priority to "kinds" of feminist issues. That danger lies in failing to recognize the connections among different forms of oppression of women and the manner in which the condition of women in one social sphere, such as sport, has an impact on other spheres. While acknowledging the centrality of economic and reproductive concerns to feminist analysis, I would argue that a consideration of sport is not only appropriate but is a necessary part of that analysis.

The issues discussed in the previous section share a concern with analyzing and improving the condition of women in sport. For this reason, each has a place in the feminist struggle and debate. In this section of the paper, I review three additional feminist issues that concern sport. Consideration of each of these issues demonstrates the manner in which the connections between sport and feminism transcend sport and concern the impact of sport upon broader patterns of social relations.

If there is a major exception to my claim that feminists have largely ignored sport, that exception is discussion of the socialization effects of sport participation that have appeared in the popu-

lar feminist press. Several authors (for example, Harragan, 1977; Pogrebin, 1980) have commented upon the contribution of sport involvement to the learning of adult roles in the work place and political life. An important element of this argument is that since sport has historically been a male preserve, the benefits of sport participation have mainly been reserved for men who, as adults, assume the majority of powerful and economically rewarding positions in society.

This topic has also received considerable attention in research on socialization through sport. The results of these efforts may best be described as inconclusive. In a frequently cited review of the literature, Stevenson (1975, p. 287) has written that "there is no valid evidence that participation in sport causes any verifiable socialization effects."

Elsewhere, I have critiqued the sociological literature on the socialization effects of sport participation (Theberge, 1983). In that piece, I argued that much of this literature is flawed conceptually and methodologically. Researchers have relied largely upon quantitative analyses that attempt to isolate the effects of sport participation from other social practices. As a result of this, they have failed to appreciate the manner in which sport is one of many related activities that collectively accomplish the process of sex role socialization. I argue that the inconclusiveness of the research is the result of the mistaken separation of sport and other social forms.

An appreciation of the role of sport in socialization to adult roles is important to the larger feminist struggle. That struggle includes identifying and combating the systematic exclusion of women from positions of power and reward that men now monopolize. While blatant discrimination against women, because they are women, is no longer widely accepted (at least in North America), combating the more subtle but powerful causes of sex inequality is still a major challenge. A first step in meeting that challenge is demonstrating the systematic nature of gender role socialization and its contribution to sex inequality. Recognition of the place of sport in that process is but part of the effort to understand and combat the oppression of women.

The second link between sport and other forms of the feminist struggle that I wish to discuss is the strategic use of women's sporting accomplishments to advance their cause in other domains. I have in mind restrictions upon women's employment in

physically demanding and hazardous occupations such as construction, mining and forestry work, some forms of military duty, and police and fire work. These restrictions have often been rationalized on the basis of the alleged physical limitations of women. The battle to open doors for women in occupations formerly closed to them is waged on several fronts: political, legal, and through public education of employers, administrators of training programs, and women who are potential recruits to these programs. An important weapon in this battle is the mounting evidence that refutes beliefs about female frailty.

Sport can play a useful role in combating myths about women's capacities. As a highly visible and valued activity, sport in North America holds a position of importance and prominence rivaled by few other elements of our culture. To be sure, most of the beneficiaries of this status have been male athletes, especially professionals (including nominally amateur collegiate athletes), but the stranglehold of professional sport on the North American sporting psyche is periodically challenged. The 1984 Olympics, in which Canadian and American teams were highly successful, were a television spectacular that showcased the accomplishments of male and female athletes. The performances of women, for example, the American Joan Benoit in winning the marathon or the silver medal-winning Canadian women's rowing team, provide dramatic evidence of their physical capabilities. Because of the public interest—and in some cases nationalist fervor—attached to the Olympics in both countries, these performances are a particularly effective means to refute the myth of female frailty. In turn, this evidence can be used to mount a case against restrictions upon women's full participation in other areas of social life, perhaps most importantly, in the occupational world.

The final link between sport and feminism that I wish to discuss concerns the contribution of a feminist analysis of sport to the development of a feminist theory of gender relations and women's condition. The previous section of this paper discussed the debates in sport about strategies to improve the status of women. These debates about strategy follow from a more fundamental debate about the causes of women's subordination (Theberge, 1984). Proponents of liberal strategies believe that the subordination of women can be corrected by reforming the present social and economic structure through, say, affirmative action programs. Others argue that solutions to women's problems will re-

quire a more radical restructuring of the social fabric. There is a further division among proponents of radical change who disagree about the nature of change that is needed. Marxist-feminists see the oppression of women as a form of class exploitation under capitalism and thus seek a socialist revolution to achieve the liberation of women. According to many feminists, however, a Marxist analysis cannot fully explain woman's subordinate status.

An alternative approach to feminist theory locates the source of women's oppression in the social construction and control of their physicality. In this line of thought, the condition that unites women of all classes and cultures is the domination and exploitation of their bodies. To be sure, the nature and extent of this form of oppression varies crossculturally and in North America by social class. Under patriarchy, however, all women experience the potential of physical violence (a condition indicated in the term "rapability"), the cultural degradation of their status as the second sex, and some form of state and medical control over their reproductive rights.

Among works that have contributed substantially to an analysis of women's condition from this perspective are Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English's *For Her Own Good* (1979), two recent essays by Catherine MacKinnon that have appeared in *Signs* (1982; 1983), and Mary O'Brien's *The Politics of Reproduction* (1981). Ehrenreich and English provide a detailed account of the domination of women's bodies and sexuality by the medical and health professions in the United States over the last 150 years. MacKinnon and O'Brien provide theoretical arguments for the centrality of, respectively, sexuality and reproduction to the analysis of women's condition and gender relations. All of these authors share a concern with demonstrating that the oppression of women includes but goes beyond economic issues and involves patriarchal control of their bodies.

Research on the social control of women's bodies in sport can yield further insights into the area of feminist theory. Sport is a social activity that, in its essence, is an integration of the physical and mental. The historical domination of sport by men and their exclusion of women from this activity has been one among many forms of male control of women's bodies. This control has been ideological in the form of cultural denigration of women's athletic activity and the myth of female frailty, and it has been material, through restrictions upon women's participation. I would argue

that the fundamental questions concerning women in sport today are not about equal access. Rather, the fundamental questions concern the recreation—or transformation—of women's control over their experience of their bodies. As evident in the works of Ehrenreich and English, MacKinnon, O'Brien, and others, these issues are at the heart of current feminist theorizing.

This section has provided a brief review of three issues that link sport and feminism. The issues concern questions of both theory and practice and thus indicate the breadth of the ties between sport and feminism. Of the three topics, the one that I believe presents the greatest challenge to feminism is consideration of how an analysis of sport can contribute to the development of feminist theory. The significance of this question is due partly to the fact that so little work has been done in this area. In my judgment, however, a more compelling reason for its importance is that a rewriting of social theory from a feminist perspective is a critical step in the feminist struggle.

CONCLUSION

This paper has provided a discussion of the growth of a feminist consciousness in sport and the relevance of sport to the feminist movement in North America. The review of each topic has been necessarily brief, and the presentation is meant to serve as an introduction rather than an exhaustive critique. My hope in writing the paper has been to expand awareness of sport as a feminist issue and to stimulate further discussion and analysis. That hope will be realized in the continuation of work which explores the connections between sport and feminism and contributes to the advancement of women in sport and in society.

REFERENCES

Bernard, J. (1981). *The female world.* New York: The Free Press.

Birrell, S. (1984). Separatism as an issue in women's sport. *Arena Review, 8* (2), 21-29.

Boutilier, M., & San Giovanni, L. (Eds.). (1983). *The sporting woman.* Champaign, Ill.: Human Kinetics Press.

Ehrenreich, B., & English, D. (1979). *For her own good.* Garden City: Anchor Books.

Gerber, E., Berlin, P., Felshin, J., & Wyrick, W. (1974). *The American woman in sport.* Reading, Ma.: Addison-Wesley.

Grant, C. (1984). The gender gap in sport: From olympic to intercollegiate level. *Arena Review, 8* (2), 31-47.

Greendorfer, S. (1978). Socialization into sport. In C. Oglesby (Ed.), *Women and sport:*

From myth to reality (pp. 115-140). Philadelphia: Lea and Febiger.

Greendorfer, S. (1983). Shaping the female athlete: The impact of the family. In M. Boutilier and L. San Giovanni (Eds.), *The sporting woman* (pp. 135-155). Champaign, Ill.: Human Kinetics Press.

Harragan, B. L. (1977). *Games Mother never taught you.* New York: Rawson Associates Publishers.

Holmen, M., & Parkhouse, B. (1982). Trends in the selection of coaches for female athletes. A demographic inquiry. *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport, 52* (1), 9-18.

Kidd, B. (1983). Ontario legalizes discrimination. *Canadian Woman Studies, 4* (3), pp. 69-71.

MacKinnon, C. (1982). Feminism, Marxism, method and the state: An agenda for theory. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 7*, pp. 515-544.

MacKinnon, C. (1983). Feminism, Marxism, method and the state: Toward feminist jurisprudence. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 8* 635-658.

Metheny, E. (1965). Symbolic forms of movement: The feminine image in sports. In *Connotations of movement in sport and dance.* (pp. 43-56). Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown.

O'Brien, M. (1981). *The politics of reproduction.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Pogrebin, L.C. (1980). *Growing up free: Raising your child in the eighties.* New York: McGraw-Hill.

Sabo, D.S., & Runfola, R. (Eds.). (1980). *Jock: Sports and male identity.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Slatton, B., & Birrell, S. (Eds.). (1984) The politics of women's sports (special issue). *Arena Review, 8* (2).

Stevenson, C. (1975). Socialization effects of sport participation. *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport*, 46, 287-301.

Theberge, N. (1983, October). *Towards a feminist alternative to sport as a male preserve.* Paper delivered at annual meetings of North American Society for the Sociology of Sport, St. Louis.

Theberge, N. (1984). Joining social theory to social action: Some Marxist principles. *Arena Review, 8* (2), 11-19.

Vickers, J., Appleton, M., Inglis, S., Fromson, J., Bean, G., Savoy, C., & Knight, D. (1982). *A comparative study of relative opportunities for women in the C.I.A.U.* (update 1981-82). Report presented to the Canadian Interuniversity Athletic Union, Ottawa.

ENGLISH RIDING AS A WOMAN'S SPORT: THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF THE EQUESTRIENNE

Roger B. Trent, Patricia Metz Adrian, and Eileen Burke-Trent*

In most sports, the big question concerning women's participation is: Why do men so outnumber women? There are exceptions, such as traditionally feminine "sports" like archery and skating (Curry & Jiobu, 1984), but most typical American sports are dominated by men. Horseback riding, particularly English riding, stands as an exception.

To what extent do women predominate in riding? There is no single set of data showing who participates in this sport and who does not, but we can examine useful fragments. For example, the United States Pony Clubs, Incorporated, had 9,128 members in 379 clubs in 1983. This organization provides English equestrian riding and activities to people under 21 years old. The proportion of female participants is 88%. The United States 4-H Club sponsors a number of animal projects for young people. The highest participation of young women was in horse projects, not necessarily English riding, where they comprised 68% of the participants (United States Department of Agriculture, 1983, pp. 15-19). Similarly, magazines emphasizing English riding have more female than male subscribers. For example, *Practical Horseman* (1983), an English riding magazine with a circulation of 45,000 has ninety percent female subscribers.

These data square with what every equestrian observer already knows, namely, that women vastly outnumber men in English riding. (Western riding presents a less clear case which will be considered later in this paper). To gain insight into this unusual pattern, we will review briefly the role of women in sports, the special significance of the horse and English riding in Western culture, and the nature of equestrienne participation. Then we will examine data from three small studies to test hypotheses about the social and cultural origins of equestrienne participation.

---

*Direct correspondence to: Roger B. Trent, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, West Virginia University, Morgantown, West Virginia. 26506

The authors would like to thank students in their social research methods class who gathered survey data, and Kenneth Gruber, who provided us with unpublished data from his research.

WOMEN AND SPORTS IN AMERICA: SOME BASICS

To understand equestrienne participation, we must first consider some general aspects of men's and women's participation in sports and leisure activities in the U.S. Two aspects pertain to any explanation of sex specific participation: (1) sports are culturally defined as masculine or feminine, and (2) sport, like leisure in general, is a variety of consumption and has status connotations. In an early paper, Bishop and Ikeda (1970) performed a multiple discriminant analysis of 32 leisure activities. Two discriminant functions explained 42% of the variance in the activities matrix. The strongest function was a prestige dimension, which will be discussed in the next section of this paper.

Bishop and Ikeda's second dimension, masculinity-femininity, has not received as much attention as the prestige dimension, but some recent research has examined "female sports" and women athletes directly. In a historical summary of research of women in sports, Curry & Jiobu (1984) show that women in sports have generally faced resistance and stigmatization. As in many other spheres of life, women were limited to a few appropriately "feminine" activities in which there was little aggression, contact, or strenuous movement. Gruber (1980) arrayed 29 sport and leisure activities according to the extent to which they were sex stereotyped by both male and female respondents. Among the more masculine activities were auto racing, wrestling, pole vaulting, and handball. The more feminine activities were embroidery, knitting, sewing, and ballet. Gruber also found that women professed greater knowledge and interest in riding than did men.

Sports, like other leisure activities, have been shown to be sex stereotyped, both in terms of participation patterns and in conceptions about male and female participation in sports. There is also evidence that this stereotyping affects evaluations made of women in sports. One survey of women athletes found that many felt their participation was stigmatized by others, and the proportion who experienced stigma was greater in "male" sports like basketball and track than in more sexually neutral sports like swimming and gymnastics (Snyder, Kivlin, & Spreitzer, 1975). This feel of stigma probably reflects the actual approval and disapproval of others towards women's participation in various sports. A study of attitudes toward participants in sex stereotyped sports found that college students do not approve of women in a heavy contact sport

(hockey), but they do approve of women in figure skating (Promoli, McCabe, & Shaw, 1977).

In sum, sports participation is sexually stereotyped, behaviorally, cognitively, and attitudinally. In the next section we describe the cultural and social significance of English riding, particularly symbolic aspects of the sport that may provide clues as to the female dominance of it.

WOMEN, MEN AND HORSES IN ANGLO-AMERICAN CULTURE

To understand riding in America, one has to understand the special significance of the horse in Anglo-American culture. Let us assume that sports, like other recreational activities, must be studied as symbolic behavior. This approach, which has recently come into its own (Kelly, 1983) forces us to ask about the horse and English riding as cultural symbols. In this light, an appropriate theoretical framework was articulated in 1899 in Thorstein Veblen's *Theory of the Leisure Class*, wherein he asserted that leisure is shaped largely by the need to demonstrate conspicuous waste. According to the "pecuniary canons of taste" animals as well as leisure activities are seen as desirable and aesthetically pleasing to the degree that they are useless and therefore serviceable as outward displays of their owner's standing. If horses and equestrian sports do indeed have class symbolic meanings, this should help explain participation, since, as Curry & Jiobu put it, "the links between class and sports are part of our identity" (1984, p. 72).

What was true of the horse in Veblen's time is more true today: horses have no "industrial value" as transport, draught, or meat animals. Their value would be nil if they were not desired for purely non-economic reasons. The horse can be a potent status symbol, and its value is highest to the extent that the horse is used in a fashion that emulates the leisure classes of Great Britain: "A horse is more beautiful in proportion as he is more English; the English leisure class being, for purposes of reputable usage, the upper leisure class of this country, and so the exemplar for the lower grades" (Veblen, 1899, p. 105).

Evidence abounds to show that English riding is a sport beyond the financial reach of most people and the hallmark of the really well-to-do. For one thing, the sport is intrinsically expen-

sive. The average family income of subscribers to the high circulation English riding magazine *Practical Horseman* (1983) is over $52,000. According to the estimates presented in *The Professional Horseman* in 1980, the dressage competitor would spend about $2000 for riding habit and minimum tack (bridle, saddle, etc.). A good horse costs from a few thousand dollars up to $50,000 and well beyond. Board, training, veterinarian fees, and the like add thousands more per year. A number of writers have documented and discussed the necessity of an upper class income to engage in the sport as well as the social exclusivity associated with the "horsey set" (Barclay, 1980; Bryant, 1984; Clatworthy, 1981; Garkovich, 1983). Skill in English riding requires long, expensive training (Curry & Jiobu, 1984, p. 68) which also exemplifies conspicuously wasteful pursuits in Veblen's scheme.

The fact that English riding is expensive cannot account for the greater participation of females even if it were still entirely true, as Veblen asserted, that the "office of women is to consume vicariously for the head of the household" (p. 20). There are other interesting ways to spend money conspicuously; for example, stylish clothes, jewelry, and lavish entertaining. However, English riding as a proper sport for upper class women is an established tradition in Anglo-American culture. A major source of American sports patterns is the British "public" (i.e., private) schools, which were the privilege of upper class boys (Curry & Jiobu, 1984, p. 162). There, rugged sports were viewed as a way to build strong, masculine character (e.g., see Sheard and Dunning, 1973). In nineteenth century England, horseback riding was considered refined and decorous enough for well-to-do young women, along with such sports as croquet and archery (Bulger, 1982). Thus the grace and elegance of much English-style riding corresponded to the graceful and elegant ideal for the upper class women in precisely the same way that strenuous, rough sports correspond to the strong, forceful ideal for the upper class man.

In sum, English riding is a sport with very high levels of female participation. Sociologically, English riding is associated with the British and American upper classes and serves as a means of conspicuous consumption in much the same way that polo and yachting are sports confined to the classes who can afford them. English riding—and here we refer to the more genteel forms such as show jumping rather than the more arduous and sometimes risky forms such as steeplechasing and fox hunting—is

also traditionally a sport that displays the rider's grace and finesse, traits we attribute to women more than men in our culture. As a working hypothesis we can ask whether the special attraction of riding to women lies in its connotations of status and refined beauty. These notions and some related ideas formed the basis of our research on equestrienne participation.

METHODS

Data reported in this paper are derived from three sources. The first is a field study based on observations and semistructured and unstructured interviews over the course of three months. Our informants were mainly riders and horse industry professionals associated with English riding.

The second data source, Survey I, was a quota sample (based on sex of respondent) of 420 students (212 females and 208 males) at a large state university. Short face-to-face interviews were conducted by student interviewers. In this survey, we sought to document some of Veblen's hypotheses on the cultural symbology of horses as animals in comparison to other pets (i.e., dogs) and stock (i.e., cows). We also tested some tentative hypotheses about factors in perceptions of horses.

The third data source, Survey II, was based on a sample like that used in Survey I, but the data were collected about one year later. This sample attempted to screen a reasonable number of riders from a general student population. Respondents who characterized their past or present involvement in horseback riding as serious or recreational, as opposed to occasional or nil, were classified as riders. Of 406 respondents (202 females and 204 males), 22% of the females were classified as riders as compared to 14% of the males. These riders were queried on the factors they found attractive about riding to test hypotheses about sex differences in reasons for riding.

FIELD STUDY: THE ATTRACTIONS OF ENGLISH RIDING

Our field data include observation and unstructured interviews with (1) contestants, parents of contestants, and observers at hunter-jumper shows in West Virginia and Pennsylvania; (2) industry professionals; and (3) riding students, their parents, instructors, and lesson observers at West Virginia Stud and Equestrian Centre.

Our initial research goals were to explore the attraction of horses and English riding and to locate possible differences between male and female equestrians. On the basis of the literature reviewed above and prior experience we knew that English riding had a status appeal not present in most other sports. We also knew that women and girls often had strong nurturant feelings for horses (Clatworthy, unpublished manuscript). These general themes structured our field observations. Before presenting our findings, we must consider some relevant peculiarities of English style riding as it is distinct from American Western style riding.

Western riding is often used for pleasure or trail riding, in rodeos, for herding cattle, barrel racing, and other "cowboy" events, and it employs a heavy saddle which cradles the rider and insulates him or her from the movement of the horse. Cowboys on long trail rides needed something substantial to pad their seat bones during long hours in the saddle and to stand up to the weight of a struggling calf or cow on the end of a rope attached to the saddle "horn." Modern Western saddles have changed little over the years.

English saddles, on the other hand, can seem to sit almost precariously on the back of the horse, with thin strips and flaps of leather on a light frame separating the rider from his/her mount. To ride securely in an English saddle requires greater skill, balance and coordination, and also provides increased body contact and communication with the animal.

Though some Western competitive riding has developed into a highly skilled art, in the initial phases of riding greater balance and skill is needed to ride well and compete in an English saddle because it provides a less secure seat. Therefore, more riding education is needed to sit a horse in an English saddle. The use of an English saddle selects somewhat for a rider with access to extensive (and expensive) training for long periods.

People with the money and inclination to pursue English riding might be expected to have higher-brow tastes. One of our informants, a female university art professor and avid rider said, "The type of person who would appreciate English riding is the type who might appreciate ballet instead of disco." A 14-year-old boy who rides Western said, "Snobs! Snobs like English riding!" A more sympathetic view comes from a 14-year-old male English rider: "English riding is more refined." The most candid comments (though not the most representative) were made by a doc-

tor's wife who said "Scum usually don't ride English!" and "I like looking good and getting the education to ride with more skill. I like the nice clothes and making a good appearance while I'm showing a horse."

Probably the quintessential description of what the "feel" of English riding means to a modern day American is reflected in this doctor's revelation, "My ultimate fantasy would be to ride a dangerous, cross-country gallop at incredible speed, leap off my mount, fence my way through adversaries up the steps of Louis XIV's palace, and deliver a lecture on radiology—in German!" Although this is an extreme statement, it does illustrate images that were found in the subtler form among others we interviewed. We believe that many of our informants looked nostalgically back to a more grand and exciting period, but this is very hard to confirm with any certainty. Nevertheless, almost all informants recognized the status association of English riding even when they did not impute status motives to their own feelings about riding.

All the informants felt English riders take their riding seriously because initial investments in money for good horses, clothes, tack, and lessons are large for English riders who want to compete successfully. It was felt that the people inclined to make this investment would be those "who appreciate the finer things of life—champagne instead of Pabst Blue Ribbon Beer." In this light it is not surprising that our informants' hobbies include pursuits such as art, sailing, jogging, literature, ballet, and theatre.

In some cases, we suspected that English riding for daughters was a part of a conscious or unconscious desire for intergenerational upward mobility in the same way that sending a daughter to an expensive blue stocking college can be an expression of a desire to help the daughter move into higher circles. Some parents on modest salaries struggled to budget very expensive riding lessons for their daughters. One father said "Little girls just naturally seem to go with pretty ponies, dressed up and ready to go." It was obviously important to many parents to expose their daughters to the "finer things in life," including the refined and classy sport of English riding.

This special attraction many of our informants felt for horses was not limited to the need for using the horse as a vehicle for expression of status. As Bryant (1984) said, "The affective relationship between a horse and a human is, in effect, of a primary nature, and accordingly, would seem to deserve extensive and in-

tensive sociological examination" (p. 32). Strong nurturance feelings for horses were common, especially among women, and most particularly among young girls. Several young women said that making sure their horse was clean and well fed was more important even than riding. For example, one ten-year-old girl said, "When my pony feels good, it makes me feel good. When I brush him, he likes it, and that makes me happy."

Many young women took delight in grooming and caressing their horses. This solicitude was recognized by many, including a manager for a recuperation center for race horses in Kentucky who said they preferred to hire young women over young men, because the women spent more time and seemed to care more about the animals' comfort.

Female riders of all ages said the bond, or the communication, with their mounts was the most important thing to them about riding. The feelings of power one derived from controlling a 1,200-pound beast of independent will were incidental of the rapport needed to control the animal. Feelings of success and accomplishment were derived from communicating with their mounts successfully. Some riders described the "equestrian rush" or the adrenaline surge one feels when the communication between horse and rider is just right. One female event rider said, "You want to be the horse. You want to lose yourself and become that power and that speed." This feeling seems to be a part of the bond between horse and rider that we noticed more among women than men. Indeed, some women felt they were better equipped emotionally than men to control horses. One female jockey said, "I think as a woman I'm more sensitive to his pain and fear, and can encourage him to give more willingly than a man who might demand or try to force performance. My horses are going to be less likely to break legs in a race, because I'm going to be more attuned to them physically."

In summary, among all the many reasons that can be adduced for the attraction of horses and riding, two factors stood out in our field research: (1) for most informants, English riding was symbolically associated with a generally elevated level of living and consumption, and (2) rapport between horse and owner appeared to be important, particularly for women.

SURVEY I: HORSES AS SYMBOLS OF REFINEMENT AND COMPANIONSHIP

In *Theory of the Leisure Class*, Veblen contrasted three animals which are regarded very differently in our culture: the dog, the cow, and the horse. Dogs are regarded as companions because of their fawning servility. The cow has practical value as food. The horse, which once had great practical value, has become useless and expensive and an ideal object for conspicuous display of wealth.

To learn whether Veblen's speculations were accurate, we asked respondents to tell us to what extent these three animals could be described by each of ten descriptors. Six of the descriptors that had status and aesthetic connotations we summarized by the term of *Refinement*: Expensive, Powerful, Graceful, Beautiful, Classy, and Elegant. Three descriptors referred to the animals' traits of personality which might make them attractive companions: Responsive, Smart, and Friendly. The tenth descriptor—Economically Useful—is an indicator of non-status, non-companion utility.

Figure 1 shows profiles of perceptions of dogs, horses, and cows according to the ten descriptors. Three patterns stand out. First, horses score highest on all descriptors we have termed *Refinement*. Second, horses score high on *Companionship* descriptors, but dogs score even higher. Third, cows are viewed a lacking in both Elegance and Responsiveness but are scored highest on Economically Useful. Veblen's conceptions of these three kinds of animals seem to be verified in the conceptions of our respondents. Cows, as Economically Useful stock animals are not credited with the status associations of the horse or the appealing pet qualities of Responsiveness, Intelligence, and Friendliness. Dogs are high in the pet qualities but score lower than horses in their status associations. Horses are distinctive in their image as status animals, but with some of the characteristics of a pet. This finding modifies Veblen's hypothesis in a direction consistent with our field work. Veblen's scheme did not emphasize the companionship qualities of the horse. Nevertheless, the notion that horses are valued for the bond between them and their owner or rider has a sound basis in our field work, the observations of other writers (e.g., Clatworthy, 1981), and common knowledge of equestrians.

FIGURE 1: MEAN DESCRIPTOR SCORES FOR THREE ANIMALS

	NOT								SOMEWHAT										VERY
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Expensive						.					.	D				.	C			H	
Powerful						.			D		.				C	.				H	
Graceful		C				.					.	D				.				H	
Beautiful				C		.					.			D		.			H		
Classy		C				.					.			D		.			H		
Elegant		C				.				D.						.	H				
Responsive						.			C		.					H					D
Smart					C	.					.				H	.	D				
Friendly						.				C.					H	.				D	
Economically Useful						D					.			H		.					C

Next, we compared female (n = 212) and male (n = 208) respondents' perceptions of each of the three animals (see Table 1). Means are presented, along with two-tailed T-test significance levels. Many differences by gender are not significant, but for both dogs and horses, women score higher on *Refinement* and *Companion* descriptors. In contrast, males gave higher values to all three animals on Economically Useful and Powerful. Men ranked cows as significantly more Elegant, Intelligent, Friendly, and Responsive. This pattern suggests that women have a more favorable view of dogs and horses than of cows, which are viewed somewhat more favorably by men. The contrast between the perceptions of men and women is stronger for horses than for cows or dogs, as anticipated. On three of the measures of *Refinement* and two of the measures of *Companionship*, women rated horses significantly higher than men did. This suggests not only that women are more attuned to the *Refinement* and *Companionship* aspects of animals, but also that women in general see these aspects in horses more than do men.

TABLE 1: MEAN DESCRIPTOR SCORES FOR THREE ANIMALS, BY SEX

		Means		Significance
		Females	Males	(T-Test)
Dog	Beautiful	12.2	11.7	NS
	Classy	11.8	11.4	NS
	Elegant	9.0	8.4	NS
	Graceful	10.7	10.3	NS
	Expensive	11.3	10.2	NS
	Smart	16.9	15.8	.05
	Friendly	18.7	18.1	NS
	Responsive	19.6	19.2	NS
	Economically Useful	4.1	5.3	.05
	Powerful	9.1	9.5	NS
Horse	Beautiful	17.3	15.9	.01
	Classy	17.4	16.3	.05
	Elegant	16.3	15.0	.05
	Graceful	18.5	17.8	NS
	Expensive	18.9	18.5	NS
	Smart	13.5	12.2	.05
	Friendly	13.5	13.0	NS
	Responsive	15.5	13.9	.01
	Economically Useful	11.1	12.1	NS
	Powerful	17.7	17.9	NS
Cow	Beautiful	27.8	27.9	NS
	Classy	1.6	1.3	NS
	Elegant	1.0	1.7	NS
	Graceful	1.6	.9	.05
	Expensive	15.6	16.0	NS
	Smart	4.8	3.6	.05
	Friendly	10.1	8.7	.05
	Responsive	8.9	6.6	.001
	Economically Useful	18.6	18.8	NS
	Powerful	13.7	13.8	NS

In order to validate the concepts of *Refinement* and *Companionship* as applied to horses, we calculated a correlation matrix of

all perception items except Powerful, which is the least clear of our measures of *Refinement*, and Economically Useful, which was used only to contrast cows with the other two animals (see Table 2). The upper set of enclosed correlation coefficients do appear to constitute a *Refinement* dimension in which value and aesthetics are confounded. This dimension is consistent with Veblen's notion that an object's status value and its aesthetic value are inseparable: "Any valuable object in order to appeal to our sense of beauty must conform to the requirements of beauty and expensiveness both" (p. 9).

TABLE 2: CORRELATION MATRIX OF DESCRIPTOR SCORES FOR HORSES

		X1	X2	X3	X4	X5	X6	X7	X8
Beautiful	X1	—							
Classy	X2	.33	—						
Elegant	X3	.39	.47	—					
Graceful	X4	.23	.30	.43	—				
Expensive	X5	.14	.26	.20	.20	—			
Smart	X6	.26	.26	.23	.24	.03	—		
Friendly	X7	.19	.15	.11	.17	.05	.31	—	
Responsive	X8	.04	.02	.16	.16	.05	.29	.36	—

The lower set of enclosed correlation coefficients appear to constitute a *Companionship* dimension. The perception of horses as Smart, Friendly, and Responsive represents a tendency to see them as good companions for humans, in contrast to mere "livestock." Correlations between items in the two sets are on average lower than the correlations within sets.

Table 3 shows item-to-scale correlations for the two indexes. The correlations range from moderate (.28 for Expensive) to fairly strong (.58 for Elegant). For the *Refinement* Index, Cronbach's Alpha = .68; for the *Companionship* Index, Alpha = .58. We used the *Refinement* and *Companionship* indexes to explore possible factors in differential perceptions of horses. As rough indicators of positive effect toward animals in general, we asked respondents whether they (1) would enjoy keeping cattle, (2) enjoy dogs, and (3) enjoy being around animals. We also asked respondents whether they would enjoy going to a party at a

rich person's home as an indicator of desire for status affiliation, and we asked whether they would enjoy driving a race car, as an indicator of desire for speed and excitement. We found no consistent patterns of significant associations between the indices and answers to these questions (data not shown). Both males and females who say they "enjoy being around animals" were more likely to score high on perceptions of horses as Elegant, but few other associations were significant. There was no evidence of differentials that might explain male-female differences in perceptions of horses in a general student population. This lack of differentials prompted us to design Survey II, in which we focused on riders, rather than general population, to discern reasons for involvement in equestrian sports.

TABLE 3: CONSTRUCTION OF REFINEMENT AND COMPANIONSHIP INDEXES

REFINEMENT INDEX	ITEM-TO-SCALE r	
BEAUTIFUL	.41	
CLASSY	.52	
ELEGANT	.58	ALPHA = .68
GRACEFUL	.43	
EXPENSIVE	.28	

COMPANIONSHIP INDEX	ITEM-TO-SCALE r	
SMART	.36	
FRIENDLY	.41	ALPHA = .58
RESPONSIVE	.40	

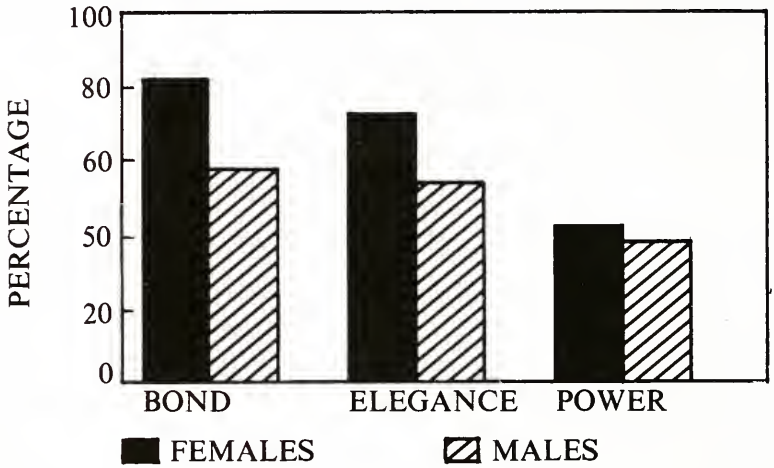
SURVEY II: WHY RIDERS RIDE

In this study we attempted to account for female ridership in terms of the perceived attributes of the riding experience (power, elegance, communication) and the strength of peer ties. Because of the relatively small number of riders in the sample, we did not attempt to differentiate English and Western riders.

On the basis of our ethnographic and survey findings, we expected that riders in general would be attracted to the sport because it involved controlled power of a large animal in an elegant setting and with an opportunity to form a bond with the animal. We expected men to give the highest ratings to the attractions of

controlled power, and we predicted that women would respond more to the elegance and bonding attractions of riding. Our respondents were asked to rate the importance of each of three reasons for enjoying riding: (1) riding as elegance in motion, (2) riding as a bond between horse and rider, and (3) riding as controlled power. Findings are provided in **Figure 2.**

FIGURE 2: ATTRACTIONS OF RIDING BY SEX



Overall, men riders rated the three attractions about evenly, although power was the lowest attraction and bonding the highest. For women, bonding was extremely important, with 82% citing it, compared to 57% for men ($p < .05$). Similarily, almost three-fourths of the women cited elegance as an attraction, compared to 53% for men (p = n.s.). Power was the least important attraction. Forty-three percent of women riders cited it compared to 39% for men (p = n.s.).

As mentioned earlier, many of our female informants in the field study believed that the special bond of affection between a woman and a horse was an important reason for equestrienne participation. To test the derived notion that horses can serve as surrogate friends, we asked the respondents classified as riders to characterize their peer relations on a four-point scale from "very close" to essentially no peer relations at all. Although women respondents reported closer peer ties than did men respondents ($p < .05$), women with and without close peer ties were equally likely

to be riders.

CONCLUSION

This paper reports our attempts to bring data to bear on an elusive question: what is the special attraction of horses and riding for women? Employing Veblen's perspective of horses and riding as conspicuous consumption, we found field and survey support for the idea that the horse has a combined status value and associated aesthetic mystique that might be called Refinement. We also found that the bond of communication between horse and rider was a strong reason for the pleasure of horseback riding.

Why, then, do women find horses and riding attractive to the point that they outnumber men in most English riding sports? The reasons can be approached only indirectly, as they are perhaps unconscious to some extent. Nevertheless our data tend to corroborate Veblen's view of women as consumers of a quintessential status object, the horse. In addition, women appear to respond more than men to the horse as a companion, although a deficit of human ties does not appear to differentiate women riders from non-riders. We measured "bond between horse and rider" to get at the aspect of horse as responsive companion, but our field data indicates that the bond extends beyond the act of riding; many equestriennes shower affection on their animals and report deriving great pleasure from grooming their horses, cleaning their stalls, and looking after their well-being. At horse shows one often sees women painstakingly mix special grains with expensive vitamins and mineral supplements, and then go off themselves for a corndog and a Coke. We encountered no women or men who took the welfare of their mount lightly, but women seem to be particularly nurturant.

We believe that horses provide an attractive sport to women because they represent a conjunction of two important values: status association and companionship. Whereas sports car racing has strong class connotations and pet ownership in general gives opportunities for animal companionship, the horse is perhaps unique, in our culture, as a powerful status object who responds to nurturance and forms a close bond both as a pet and as a "vehicle."

It may be that some women and men express their desires for an elegant, refined pursuit and animal companionship via equestrian sports because of idiosyncratic factors of upbringing and op-

portunity. As mentioned, some parents actively encourage their daughters to become "horsey." Similarly, equestrian sports are probably more available to people living outside major metropolitan areas, economically, culturally, and socially. There are surely other factors that influence who, among all the young women who manifest the adolescent Black Beauty syndrome, actually become equestriennes. Our research did not address these issues, but future life history studies of equestrians might elucidate them.

REFERENCES

Barclay, H. (1980). *The role of the horse in man's culture.* London: J.A. Allen and Co.

Bishop, D.W. (1970). Stability of the factor structure of leisure behavior: Analyses of four communities. *Journal of Leisure Research, 3*, 160-169.

Bishop, D.W., & Ikeda, M. (1970). Status and role factors in the leisure behavior of different occupations. *Sociology and Social Research, 54* (January), 28-34.

Bryant, C.D. (1984). Horsing around in rural sociology. *The Rural Sociologist, 4* (January), 28-34.

Bulger, M.A. (1982). American sportswomen in the 19th century. *Journal of Popular Culture, 16* (Fall), 1-16.

Clatworthy, N.M. *Achievement, success, and sexual differences that motivate people to show and participate in saddle horse showing.* Unpublished Manuscript.

Clatworthy, N.M. (1981). *The sport of kings: Social values and social class.* Paper presented at the meeting of the Southern Sociological Society.

Curry, T.J., & Jiobu, R.M. (1984). *Sports: A social perspective.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Garkovich, L. (1983). *Horsing around with status symbols: Stratification in the horse industry.* Paper presented at the meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, Lexington, Kentucky.

Gruber, K.J. (1980). Sex-typing of leisure activities: A current appraisal. *Psychological Reports, 46*, 259-265.

Kelly, J.R. (1983). *Leisure identities and interactions.* Winchester, Massachusetts: Allen and Union.

Practical Horseman/Performance Horseman. Race card. (Unpublished market profile). Unionville, Pennsylvania.

Promoli, F., McCabe, J., & Shaw, S. (1972). Attitudes toward individuals participating in sex stereotyped sports. *Arena Newsletter, 1* (April-June), 17-18.

Sheard, K.G., & Dunning, E.G. (1973). The rugby football club as a type of 'male' preserve: Some sociological notes. *International Review of Sport Sociology, 8*, 5-21.

Snyder, E.E., Kivlin, J.E., & Spreitzer, E.E. (1975). The female athlete: An analysis of objective and subjective role conflict. In D.M. Landers (Ed.), *Psychology of sport and motor behavior* (Series No. 10, pp. 165-180). Pennsylvania State University, HPER.

United States Department of Agriculture. (1983). *Annual 4-H Youth Development Enrollment Report.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Veblen, T. (1912). *The theory of the leisure class.* New York: The MacMillan Company.

CONTRIBUTORS

JOAN M. CHANDLER is Associate Professor and Head of American Studies Program at the University of Texas at Dallas. She received her Ph.D. from the University of Texas at Austin, in American Civilization. Dr. Chandler has presented and published a number of papers in the area of Sport and T.V. In addition, she has presented papers on women professional athletes and Title IX. Her future research projects include an examination of the development of sport in Dallas from the 1930's, as well as a continuation of her comparative work in British and American televised sport.

DEAN A. PURDY is Assistant Professor in the Department of Sociology and Director of Program Education, Office of Educational Development, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio. He received his Ph.D. from Bowling Green University and has published numerous works in the area of Sport Sociology. His current research interests are concentrated in the political economy of sport, the role of sport in education, youth sports, and sport participation throughout the life course.

D. STANLEY EITZEN received his Ph.D. in Sociology from the University of Kansas and is currently a Professor of Sociology at Colorado State University. In addition to approximately 25 articles on the Sociology of Sport in professional journals and as chapters in books, he co-authored a book entitled *Sociology of American Sport* (2nd edition 1982) and edited *Sport in Contemporary Society* (2nd edition 1984). Professor Eitzen is a member of the executive council, North American Society for the Sociology of Sport and is associate editor for numerous academic journals dealing with the study of sport.

RICK HUFNAGEL received his M.A. from Colorado State University in 1983. He is currently a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Sociology and is working on his dissertation. He has co-authored a paper with Drs. Purdy and Eitzen entitled "Are Athletes Also Students?", which appeared in *Social Problems*.

DAVID H. DEMO is Assistant Professor of Sociology at Mississippi State University. He received his Ph.D. at Cornell University, and is currently coordinating a statewide study which will be applied to the structure and the expansion of women's intercollegiate athletics at the Mississippi State University.

NANCY THEBERGE is Assistant Professor in the Depart-

ments of Kinesiology and Sociology at the University of Waterloo, in Waterloo, Ontario. She received her Ph.D. at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. Her current research interests are in the organization of amateur sport in Canada and in Women in Sport, particularly on women coaches in Canada. She is a founding member and former Executive Board Member of the Canadian Association for Advancement of Women and Sport. Dr. Theberge has recently co-edited a volume entitled *Sport and the Sociological Imagination*, published by the Texas Christian University Press.

ROGER B. TRENT is Associate Professor of Sociology at West Virginia University. He received his Ph.D. in Sociology at the University of Washington. His research has been in the area of gender roles.

EILEEN BURKE-TRENT is owner of the West Virginia Stud and Equestrian Center. She breeds race horses and owns an equestrian training facility affiliated with West Virginia University. She is co-owner and co-editor of the *Mid-Atlantic Horse Country Publication.*

PATRICIA METZ ADRIAN is a Ph.D. candidate in Public Policy in the Department of Political Science at West Virginia University.

DATE DUE

OCT 2 3 1990		5:00pm	
NOV 3 0 1990	5pm		
MAY 0 8 1991	5:17pm		
[redacted] 3 0 1993			

DEMCO 38-297